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ABSTRACT

This booklet was designed to serve as a stimulus and guide for those persons interested in collecting information and source material concerning the cultural and historical contributions of ethnic groups in Pennsylvania. The contents consist of three sections: suggestions for collecting, examples of Pennsylvania folklore, and an annotated bibliography. Each section deals with tales, songs, dances and games, riddles, proverbs and speech, beliefs, customs, and material culture. (JM)

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A Guide for Collectors Of Oral Traditions and Folk Cultural Material In Pennsylvania

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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By MacEdward Leach
and Henry Glassie

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First Printing, 1968

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Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION
Harrisburg, 1973

CS 501 456

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FOREWORD

In the fall of 1966 the General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed legislation enabling the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to set up a program to collect information and source material bearing upon the cultural and historical contributions of all of the ethnic groups in Pennsylvania. This "Ethnic Culture Survey" has endeavored to search broadly for the ethnic materials—most of them still unrecorded—which have enriched and continue to enrich our State. It is hoped that hundreds of Pennsylvanians from school children to professionals—historians, teachers, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, and folklorists—will join us in gathering this important material together and bringing it to the Commission's Ethnic Culture Survey Collections and to publication. It is hoped, too, that many of the vigorous county and local historical societies in Pennsylvania may find in this program an effective way to enrich their collections with significant material on the communities which they serve. This booklet is designed to serve as a stimulus and a blueprint for those who may need a word of guidance, and as a memory jogger for others.

It is difficult to think of a state that includes more distinct cultures in its make-up than Pennsylvania; but, astonishingly enough, except for the Pennsylvania Germans, most ethnic groups have been neglected in collections and studies of Pennsylvania history and folklore. It is a prime objective of the Ethnic Culture Survey to correct this, but in so doing we shall not neglect the culture of the earlier immigrants: the English including the Quakers, the Scots, the Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. Our field of concentration, however, will be the later immigrants because they have not been studied. Some of these ethnic groups have their own organizations, formally or informally concerned with the collection of their traditions before they are merged into the general pattern. The Poles still do their old folk dances and, on gala occasions, wear folk costumes; the Greeks sing old songs carried from the Mediterranean and celebrate Easter with special breads and eggs painted with folk figures; the Ukrainians of Philadelphia have kept much of their Old World culture alive—things like dances, costumes, songs, food, and customs—and have transmitted it to the larger culture through festivals, displays, and bazaars. We shall, then, work with the Poles, the Lithuanians, Latvians, Slovaks,

Russians, Finns, Jews, Greeks, Italians, the Germans, the Welsh, Irish, and all others who maintain distinctive cultures within Pennsylvania such as the Indians, the Negroes, and the migrants from other parts of America—the Down East Yankee, for example. The collected data will be made available in organized collections, in print, festivals, and displays. Our traditions are as rich and even more diversified than those of other states for which magnificent collections exist; it is shocking, therefore, that so little has been done in Pennsylvania.

We have fine historical studies and collections based on written records in English; it is high time that material in foreign languages and orally transmitted lore, on which most of the written material is predicated, be garnered and published. The Ethnic Culture Survey was created for that purpose, but we need your help. Please send in material, write us your suggestions, and give us leads. We promise you that collecting ethnic materials can be a rich, fascinating, and enjoyable experience.

S. K. Stevens

January 15, 1968

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When the General Assembly made it possible for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to develop a program to collect oral and written materials on the cultural and historical contributions of the ethnic groups in Pennsylvania, the Ethnic Culture Survey was planned and organized in consultation with Dr. MacEdward Leach, chairman emeritus of the graduate department of folklore at the University of Pennsylvania. It was quickly realized that, to carry on such a program effectively, it would be essential to have a guide. This would keep collectors on the right track in gathering materials, and also encourage them to join in this effort to collect the folk traditions and other evidences of folk culture in Pennsylvania. Since nothing was available which would apply to such collecting in this State, Dr. Leach undertook to prepare a guide. By the time the Ethnic Culture Survey began operation in January, 1967, with the appointment of Henry Glassie as Associate Historian, Dr. Leach had prepared a draft for this *Guide for Collectors of Oral Traditions and Folk Cultural Material in Pennsylvania.*

Unfortunately, Dr. Leach's great contributions in planning the Survey and drafting the *Guide* were soon hampered by illness and finally halted by his untimely death on July 11, 1967. While he maintained his keen interest to the end, reviewing the manuscript and making suggestions, it was left for Mr. Glassie to prepare the *Guide* in its final form for publication. Mr. Glassie rewrote and expanded the draft, more than doubling its length, in order to bring it in line with potential activities with ethnic groups, historical societies, and local museum projects, in the light of his experience in the early months of its work. More examples and illustrations were added to incorporate materials from recent immigrant groups and to cover all phases of ethnic culture; and a selective bibliography of suggested readings was prepared to add further to its usefulness.

The interest and support of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission have made possible the publication of this *Guide* and have facilitated the work of the Ethnic Culture Survey in many ways. Others on the Commission staff gave much help and information. Karl Rath, Commission photographer, aided in preparing illustrations; and Harold L. Myers, Associate Historian, Division of History,

assisted in the printing details. Mrs. Mae Kruger, the Survey's secretary, and Mrs. Victoria Myers, typist in the Bureau office, typed the manuscript. To all these, and to everyone who gave useful information and suggestions, we make grateful acknowledgment.

Similar acknowledgment is also made for permission to reprint examples in Part II granted by the University of Pennsylvania Press for George Korson, *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* and the Johns Hopkins Press for his *Black Rock: Mining Folklore of the Pennsylvania Dutch;* Folklore Associates for Kenneth Goldstein and Robert Byington, *Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey;* the Pennsylvania German Society for Thomas Brendle and William Troxell, *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales,* and for Edwin Miller Fogel, *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans* and *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans;* the American Folklore Society for the *Journal of American Folklore;* the Pennsylvania Folklife Society for *Pennsylvania Folklife* and for Alfred Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania;* and the Pennsylvania Folklore Society for the *Keystone Folklore Quarterly.*

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In 1971 the Ethnic Culture Survey became the Ethnic Studies Section in the regular research and publication program of the Commission, but the work of collecting and utilizing oral and written materials on the cultural and historical contributions of the ethnic groups in Pennsylvania continues to be stressed. References to the Ethnic Culture Survey or to the Survey should therefore be understood as referring to this Ethnic Studies Section.

DONALD H. KENT
Director
Bureau of Archives and History

December 6, 1972

The cover illustration is by Henry Glassie.

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PART I

SUGGESTIONS ON COLLECTION

A few years ago a wealthy young lady from New York City developed an interest in folksong from hearing songs—songs which the performers called folksongs—on radio, the concert stage, and records. Her interest intensified when she heard Alan Lomax lecture on collecting traditional songs in the Carribbean. These songs appealed to her sense of the romantic. Why could not she, too, hie herself to the folkhills, there to gather in a bountiful harvest of ancient song? She bought much expensive equipment, including two complex tape-recorders and a movie camera, and took off for one of Canada's Maritime Provinces. Picking out a folksy-looking village, she announced to the natives that she had come to collect folksongs and that she would pay handsomely for them. Many flocked to her hotel (it was easier than fishing or berry-picking) and in a few days she had recorded many songs—songs of all sorts. Her "informants" had ransacked song books, school books, hymnals, newspaper columns, records, and radio to fill her tape. She had a collection of songs, but most were published popular songs, and she had, of course, failed to get information on the singers, their sources for their songs, and the relationship of the songs and the singing tradition to the local folk culture. And she had spoiled that village for more serious and trained collectors.

There exists an impression among some amateur collectors as well as among many persons writing in the popular press, talking on the radio, and staging "folk" festivals that anything which appears quaint, antiquated, picturesque, grotesque, or fantastically exaggerated is folk and must be recorded and published; and, likewise, any "odd ball" is a folk character and, consequently, is potentially a good folklore informant. But folklore, in spite of its ambiguous connotations, has limits. Rather than indiscriminately collecting anything that comes his way, the beginner should develop the ability to sense the difference between folklore and popular lore, between folk traditions and the ephemeral products of mass culture. Folklore has internal strengths and beauties given it by generations of carriers and molders; these qualities distinguish it from comparable materials found at the other levels of our culture.

Fig. 1. Pennsylvania German Double-Crib Barn in West Virginia.

The low log barn of the Pennsylvania Dutch (Fig. 1), which was adopted by the early British settlers, was erected without benefit of an architect on a plan carried in the minds of farmers and carpenters since long before immigration. Such folk products are simple and functional. This barn could be quickly built, yet it was durable (as any modern farmer who has tried to raze one of these eighteenth or nineteenth century structures knows). It contains room enough to house the cows and horses, the hay to see them through the winter, and the wagons, plows, and other implements necessary in farm work. It bears the marks of the tool, of the broad axe on the logs, the chisel on the foundation stones, the smith's hammer on the iron latches and hinges. It belongs to the land it rests on: its foundation is of the stone of the fields, its walls, rafters, and shingles from the trees on the wood lot. Even more importantly, it adheres closely to a traditional pattern, and buildings exactly like it may be found in Europe and wherever Pennsylvanians settled in the New World. Distinctive folk qualities like these the collector senses and finds in songs, in stories and speech, in beliefs, recipes, and annual celebrations. This sense of the genuine is built up through a long and close association with the genuine.

In the second part of this booklet you will find examples of authentic folklore, the kinds of things with which the folklorist deals and the kinds of things the Ethnic Culture Survey is collecting. It is all

traditional material collected in Pennsylvania. Read through that section to get the flavor, feel, and make-up of folk material and use the things you find there as a guide.

Remember that a good test of things which are genuinely folk is whether or not they are found at different times and at different places. Although written by a hack poet and first published in 1814 in a Wilkes Barre newspaper, the ballad "James Bird" is still traditionally sung and versions of it have been collected in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, West Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, Texas, Nebraska, Utah, and California. These versions vary conspicuously from the original, an indication of the long life the song has had in oral tradition.

Perhaps the best rule of thumb for the beginning collector is to ask the informant where he learned the song, story, or technique. If his answer is "mother," "grandfather," or "an old feller hereabouts," take it. If he says "radio" or "I saw it in a school book," be wary of it, note the answer, but take it anyway; it can be discarded later if it is not worthwhile.

Since each collecting situation differs from all others, and since the success of a collecting venture depends largely on problems of personality, no specific rules can be set down to guide the collector. However, if you have never tried collecting folklore, it may be stated at the beginning that it is not only enjoyable but it is also much easier than you may think. People who carry folk traditions, especially older people who have seen great change within their lives, quickly become interested in collecting projects and are willing to work quite hard to assist you. Most people enjoy attention and most people want you to collect their folklore. The following suggestions may be of some help.

It is best to approach a potential informant with an introduction: "John Smith over in Renovo told me that you are a good singer of the old-time songs, that you know a lot of the kind of songs the old people sang; the ones that aren't in the books." Introduce yourself at the very beginning and explain that you are collecting for this Survey and that his songs will be copied down and put in the Historical Commission's collections in the Archives Building in Harrisburg, so that people may sing and study them for generations in the future. Tell him that if he contributes he will be helping to preserve the folk culture of Pennsylvania—"the old-time ways of your people." Assure him that he will get full credit for his contribution and that neither you nor anyone else will get money out of his songs.

Do not, at first use terms like "Child ballad," "wellerism," or even "folklore" because an important step in building up the kind of rapport which will get a singer to singing is communication, and the folklorists' terms do not communicate to the typical informant. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind the fact that he knows more about his traditions than you do.

Practice on relatives and friends, the older the better. You may find an uncle or grandparent who is a wealth of folk cultural information. Get them talking about the old days, about how different things were then. Draw them out with questions of a specific nature: What did they do for amusement? Were the funerals or weddings different than those of today? Did they serenade a bride and groom on their wedding night? Was it called a shivaree? A horning? Was the band called a bull band? Calithumpians? Do not forget to ask them to give you leads: "Who around here would know any old songs, crafts, stories, fiddle tunes, local history?"

After the family, interview a neighbor or a teacher; teachers of English or history are often interested in local traditions. Or talk with ministers, local judges and lawyers, funeral directors, store keepers, and anyone who has a wide range of local contacts. Doctors, nurses, mid-wives, and "grannie-women" often have a knowledge of traditional remedies and charms, of superstitions concerning birth, death and illness. Agricultural agents are often knowledgeable about traditional farming methods and know of people who still employ early agricultural tools and techniques. Remember to ask for leads to other people who might know the type of information in which you are interested. Also make constant inquiry about old manuscripts, journals, diaries, and rare periodical files. Ask, too, about paintings, and drawings or objects made by local people. Would they be willing to donate them to the William Penn Memorial Museum; if not, would they give you or the Museum permission to measure and photograph them?

Record all of the information you are given fully, even if you have collected the same item from another person. The information should be recorded in the exact words of the informant; altered texts, even if changed only slightly, lose much of their value, and texts completely rewritten into the style of the collector are nearly worthless. Ideally, a tape-recorder would be used, but, particularly with shorter items, an accurate written report is good enough. Always record the name, age (at least approximately), address, occupation, past places

of habitation, and schooling of the informant. Note, too, the date of the recording and the method—tape-recorded, written down from dictation, overheard and written down later—used to gather the information. Report where he learned the item, when, from whom, and how. Ask him when the item was normally used and by whom, why he remembers it, and whether the event described ever really took place. Ask him his meaning for unusual words or concepts in the item and indicate his reaction to the material: he remembers it because he likes to recall the past; he gets pleasure in being an authority on the traditions of his group; he likes the old songs because they are true; he thinks this tale has moral significance; he fully believes in the efficacy of this remedy. Also observe and record the gestures and facial expressions of the informant and the reaction of the audience or anyone listening. In short, get all of the information you can. Often, information which seemed irrelevant when it was collected turns out to be of great importance when the material is being analyzed.

The collected material sent to the Ethnic Culture Collections or preserved in a personal file should be neatly organized; it should be accompanied by biographical information and perhaps photographs of the informant, his family, and environment. It would also be a good idea to add your personal reaction to the informant, his traditions, and the collecting experience.

Tape-recordings may be sent in to the Survey Collections; you will receive the original after it has been copied, a copy, or a comparable amount of unused tape in return. If you wish to send in a transcription of the recording or material which was written down, use a four-by-six card or piece of paper for shorter items, and typewriter-size paper for longer ones. Your contribution will be promptly acknowledged; if you wish, you will receive a photocopy or the original in return. And, you will know that your material will be preserved to be used by hundreds of interested people in exactly the way you would like it to be used, for a contract will be drawn up for each collection stating the restrictions the collector or informant wants to place on that material. The form these contributions should follow is this:

Subject . Informant's address

Item with discussion
Informant: name, biographical data
Collector: name, address
Recording data: date, method, place
Reaction

This form has been used in this hypothetical sample item:

Evil Eye

Pennsylvania
York County
R. D. 2, Greeneville

An old woman from over t'other side o' the hill could put the evil eye on cattle. Or on people too. Why they'd shrivel up after a few months, half a year, somethin' like that. She'd look at 'em hard [here he stared, eyes wide open at me], and say some kind o' a charm, or rhyme like. Then she'd point this here stick at 'em. Like a fruit tree limb, she always carried with her. They wouldn't eat right and 'ud just waste away. Why, I've seen that a many a time.

Q: How could you prevent it?
Mr. Myers: You'd bury a jug o' urine with some o' the hair off o' the animal under the stall in the barn.
Q: Did it really work?
Mr. Myers: I guess so, but I never took much stock in it.
Mrs. Myers: Henry! Well, I guess you tried it once.
Mr. Myers: Well, I was sick, you know, and tried it. Didn't know if that old woman caused it or not. Seemed to work though, an' I got better right after.
Q: Where did you get that term "evil eye"?
Mr. Myers: That's what everybody called it—evil eye. I guess it come from the way she looked at you. I reckon that woman was some old crazy person, don't you?

Informant: Henry Myers, 67. Mr. Myers has a small farm with an apple orchard, he sells apples at a roadside stand and to a market in York. He says that most of his people are Scotch. He said he learned the antidotes to the evil eye from a maternal uncle. He said everyone in the area knew about the "old witch woman."

Recording data: Transcribed from a tape-recording made at his home on the evening of June 14, 1964.

Collector: Oscar Peter, R. D. 2, Greeneville.

Reaction: Mr. Myers seemed reluctant to record this information about the evil eye and laughed nervously before the recording, though he was quite willing to record a few tall-tales and an extensive repertoire of square dance calls. Mrs. Myers convinced him to record it by saying he ought "to help the nice young feller in his work."

Information about folk arts, crafts, or products, such as traditional cookery, should be gathered too. Measurements and drawings or

photographs of extant objects should be made and accompanied by a written description. For example, a description of a log cabin should give location, exact size, age according to its owner, kinds of logs, method of joining the logs at the corners, floorboards (puncheon, sawed?), chinking (mud, stones, shingles, other?), chimney, and chimney irons. The complete recipes of traditional dishes should be collected. If you contact a craftsman you should obtain as detailed a description of his techniques as possible. Ideally you should watch him work and describe his methods so carefully that the reader could exactly reproduce the object.

In addition to photographs of and information on folk objects, the Survey will welcome the objects themselves, things like quilts, pottery, or baskets, blacksmith's tools, manuscript song books, recipe books or weaving patterns, paintings or drawings, early books of fiddle tunes, or locally made agricultural implements. Such gifts may be put on display with the name of the donor and the history of the piece; at least they will be preserved, made available to scholars, and reported in the publications.

There follows a suggestive rather than exhaustive list of categories which may be useful in framing questions:

Tales—Prose Narrative
- Jokes and Anecdotes—Short humorous stories.
- Tall tales—Traditional lies.
- Tales of the Supernatural—Ghosts, fairies, gods, witches.
- Legends—Semi-historical stories about places and people.
- Marvelous or Fairy Tales.

Songs
- Ballads—Songs that tell a story.
- Lyrics—Thematically but not narratively unified songs, such as love songs or laments.
- Ditties—One-stanza songs, or songs composed of unrelated stanzas.
- Spirituals or Religious songs.

Instrumental Music

Dances

Play
- Drama
- Games with words or rhymes.
- Games without set words.
- Verbal games—Rhymes, tongue-twisters, counting out rhymes.

Riddles

Speech
- Proverbial Material
- Vocabulary
- Grammar

Beliefs
- Beliefs having to do with human life, plants and animals, and weather.
- Medicine
- Witchcraft

Customs
- Daily
- Occasional
- Seasonal
- Annual
- Life Cycle

Material Culture
- Art
- Craft
- Cookery
- Architecture—Buildings, farm and town plans.

COLLECTING TALES

Good tales seem to be hard to find in Pennsylvania; a tale teller with a large stock of old tales and the ability to tell them well is a good discovery. Most stories told today are gossipy anecdotes based on fact. Typical would be the story of the trip over the mountain in a snowstorm when the car skidded off the road and the ingenious devices used to get it back. Stories like this, rather than ones of heroic men and supernatural events, fill whole evenings in the tap rooms.

Now and then, however, someone may remember a story from the past, a supernatural tale perhaps, a fabulous animal story, or a tall tale about a very successful hunt; the collector must keep his ears open when a group gets to yarning. He may also single out likely informants and question them directly. Do you know any Indian stories? A story about the Thunderbird? Or, why is the rock on the Susquehanna called Massacre Rock? Do you know how the "Grand

Canyon" of Pennsylvania was created? I've heard it was formed by an Indian god smiting the earth with his great stone axe, do you agree? Are there stories about the Horseshoe Curve at Altoona which are older than the railroad? Do you know about the Lover's Leap on the Wissahickon, where an Indian and his sweetheart jumped rather than be taken and separated? The most celebrated of legends—tales which mingle history with traditional lore—is that of the Penn purchase when all the "land an ox hide would enclose" was taken from the Indians. Try for stories of Daniel Boone, of the Cornplanter Indians, of drilling for oil at Titusville, of the Conestoga Trail and the famous wagon. Legends abound about how topographical features or towns got their names. How did Bird-in-Hand get its name? Heart's Ease?

Every district harbors outlaws and outlaw stories. Around Newtown ask about the Doane Brothers and their escapades. Simon Girty hid out in a cave on the Susquehanna. Are there lingering legends of him in the area today?

Many know about the mine disaster at Avondale. Are there similar stories about other mine mishaps? Fires? Cave-ins, trapped men? Are there stories about the men who ran the lumber rafts? About lumbermen being killed by windfalls? In log jams? The bully of the camp or the docks was a notorious character. Are there stories about his deeds? About how he got what he deserved? Ask about the heroes of the various occupational groups. Was Joe Magarac a real person who became a folk hero or was he, like Paul Bunyan, a fake hero dreamed up by an advertising man?

Pennsylvania has long been noted for its hunters and trappers. Ask for stories of the lone raiding wolf. Are there stories of wolves carrying off children? Once there was a white deer in Sullivan County. Did the trappers think it was a girl transformed? That it could be killed only with a silver bullet? Does your informant know exciting stories about a bear? A black panther?

Are there stories about particularly large snakes? Hoop snakes that, tail in mouth, roll after persons who come too close to their lair? There is a cave near Reading that, they say, houses a dragon. Ask your informant from that area if he has been there. Has he heard the dragon roar? Seen its hot breath emerging? Does he know the story about the calf that strayed into the cave to be seized by the dragon? Did the dragon ever carry off children? Does he know stories of eagles carrying off children? Or bears?

Ask about lies, about stories of men who do impossible things like bend a rifle to shoot a bear around an obstruction. Does your informant know stories of especially large animals or plants, such as a tall corn stalk or gigantic mosquitoes? Of particularly foggy days? Dry summers? Of bagging a tremendous amount of game with one shot?

Many stories dealing with witches may be found in Pennsylvania. How does one protect himself against a witch? How can a witch's spell be removed? Were there any famous witches? Did witches change into animals? Could witches be killed? Most localities have stories about ghosts. What did they look like? Why did they return from the dead? Were there ghosts of animals? Could horses see ghosts even when people couldn't? Did any Irish immigrants bring stories about the little people to the New World? Where do fairies live? How can one get on their good side? What do they look like?

The long old international tales, such as the Two Brothers, the Dragon Slayer, or Cinderella, do not seem to be common in Pennsylvania; still, it is possible that, if they were asked for, they would be found. People who have recently arrived in Pennsylvania from Ireland, or southern or eastern Europe, or the descendants of the immigrants of the nineteenth century may have a store of these tales. And be sure to ask such people about the legends, jests, and other tales which they remember from the Old World.

Recent arrivals from the South may have brought with them some distinctive tales. Ask in Negro communities about animal tales or tales about Stacker Lee, or long narrative rhymes called toasts which often deal with the activities of a bad man. Southern Mountaineers in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvanians from the southern-influenced areas in the southwestern corner of our state may have not only tall tales but also long international stories about a sometimes clever, sometimes stupid boy named Jack or Nippy or Billy Peg who outsmarts giants or an evil older brother and also sells the family cow for three beans.

Inquire after stories about a blacksmith who tricks the Devil, or a man who sells his soul to the Devil. Ask your informant if he has heard a story about a couple who were granted three wishes by St. Peter, or by a prince who had been changed into a flounder. Does your informant know a tale about three princesses who were married to animals? An evil stepmother who kills her stepson and serves him to his father for dinner? A group of men with special abilities who go off on a quest? Does he know stories about a king, or a man named

Eileschpijjel or Finn McCool? A magic salt mill? A man changed into a toad or a bull? A girl locked in a tower? A dragon? Some foolish Swabians or Irishmen?

In addition to the tales themselves you will want to obtain information about the tales and tale telling. Were tales told by the old to the young or among people of the same age? Are there tales for men which women cannot hear? Were tales told at parties? Apple butter boilings? Quilting bees? Were tall tales told to trick people from outside of the community or only among friends? Were sessions for tale telling set up beforehand or did tale telling result spontaneously from conversation? Were there individuals or families who knew all the tales? Were the tales only for amusement or were they also regarded as educational? Why did some tales survive while others were forgotten?

One of the best ways to get folklore is to give it: a good story told by the collector will often elicit a story in return. You may find these stories, along with other folklore, in books, although few tales have been published from Pennsylvania, which is, of course, one of the problems that the Ethnic Culture Survey is designed to remedy. Learn and tell one or more of the stories reproduced in the second part of this Guide in hopes that they will prime the pump.

Even if you do not want to perform folklore material—an artfully presented tale might scare a mediocre traditional tale teller, a poorly told tale might cause you to lose respect in the eyes of a good traditional tale teller—a knowledge of genuine material is necessary. The best way to build up the kind of friendship with an informant which will result in hours of songs, stories or reminiscence is to come to him with a good knowledge of and interest in his traditions. You will need to absorb the folk material in this booklet and that in some of the books listed in the suggested readings section at its end before you venture out into the field.

COLLECTING SONGS

Songs are easier to come by than tales, for a good tune will often keep a song alive after the text has lost its appeal. One of the best ways to secure songs is also by the priming of the pump method. If the collector can sing and knows well the traditional singing style of the area in which he is working, he might sing for his potential informant an example of the kind of song for which he is looking. If

he has some local songs on tape, the playing of one or more of these would certainly prod a reluctant singer to contribute his songs.

It is usually better to indicate a song by its substance than its title; most songs have different titles in different localities. Ask for a song about a man who is dying because his girl friend gave him poisoned eels to eat, rather than for "Lord Randal." First lines are generally more meaningful to an informant than titles.

Get the tune—on tape if possible, for a text is only part of a song. If you cannot get the tune at the same time that you are writing the text down, we will endeavor to supply you with recording equipment or send someone with you to record your informant.

In the second part of this publication you will find a few complete song texts. Below is a list of titles of folksongs which you should be able to find in Pennsylvania; it is by no means complete, especially in the local categories.

A is for Axe
The Atlantic Cable
Babes in the Wood
The Backwoodsman
"I came to this country. . ."
The Baggage Coach Ahead
Banks of the Sweet Dundee
Barbara Allen
The Big Eau Clair
Billy Boy
Billy Grimes, the Drover
Billy McGee, McGaw
Bingen on the Rhine
Blue Juniata
Blue Monday
Bold Privateer
Brave Wolf
The Brookside Mine Disaster
The Butcher Boy
"In Jersey City I did dwell. . ."
The Cambric Shirt
Captain Jinks
Captain Kidd
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship
A Gentle Young Lady
The Captain With the Whiskers
Caroline of Edinboro Town
Casey Jones
Colley's Run I O
The Jolly Lumbermen
The Cottage Door
Cottage by the Sea
The Cruel Brother
The Cruel Mother
The Cuckoo
The Cumberland Crew
The Derby Ram
The Dilly Song
"I will sing, what will you sing?"
Dog and Gun
Down, Down, Down
Down in a Coal Mine
Down in the Willow Garden
The Dream of the Miner's Daughter
The Drowsy Sleeper
The Duke of York
The Dying Soldier
Erin's Green Shore
Fair Fannie Moore
The Farmer's Curst Wife
Gilder Roy
Father Grumble
"He vowed he could do more work in a day. . ."
Floyd Collins
The Fox
The Frog and the Mouse
Mr. Frog Went A-Courtin'

The Golden Vanity
North Country. The Lowlands
The Gypsy Laddie
Black Jack Davy
Gypsy's Warning
The Hangsman
Maid Freed From the Gallows
Harrison Brady
Henry Martyn
High Silk Hat and a Gold Top Walking Cane
The House Carpenter
It Rained a Mist
Sir Hugh.
The Jew's Daughter.
Fair Scotland.
I Wish I Was a Single Girl Again
I Wouldn't Have an Old Man
Jack Haggarty
Jack Monroe
The Jam on Gerry's Rocks
The Jealous Lover
Lorilla. Florella
Jenkin, Jenkin
Jesse James
Joe Bowers
Joe Magarac
John Randal
Kerry Recruit
"The first thing they give me. . ."
Kitty Maury
Kitty Wells
Lady Isabel
Six King's Daughters
Lady Leroy
Lady Margaret
Lamkin
The Last Great Charge
The Letter Edged in Black
The Lexington Murder
Listen to the Mocking Bird
Little Mohee
Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard
Lord Darnell
Locks and Bolts
Lord Bateman
Lord Lovell
Mary of the Wild Moor
Me Johnny Mitchell Man
The Miner's Doom
Molly Bawn
My Sweetheart's a Mule in the Mines
The Murdered Girl
Nellie Gray
The Nightingale
Oh, Susannah
Old Dan Tucker
The Old Soldier Who Had a Wooden Leg
On Johnny Mitchell's Train
One Morning in May
The Orphan Girl
Our Goodman
Three Nights Experience.
The Drunkard's Special
Paul Jones
Pearl Bryant
Pretty Polly
Pretty Sally
Put My Little Shoes Away
Rock the Dear Baby to Sleep
The Shanty Man
The Sheffield Apprentice
The Soldier's Wooing
Springfield Mountain
Sweet William's Ghost
The Texas Rangers
They Cut Down the Old Pine Tree
They Say it is Sinful to Flirt
The Titanic
Who's Going to Shoe Your Pretty Little Feet
Young Hunting
"Light down, light down, love Henry. . ."
The Two Brothers
The Two Sisters
Vilikens and His Dinah
Waly, Waly
I Wish in Vain
Wee Cooper of Fife
"Nickety-nackety. . ."
"Risselty-rosselty. . ."

William Riley
Wreck of Old 97
The Wyoming Massacre
Yonder Sits a Lonely Creature
Young Charlotte
The Frozen Girl

These are some of the songs you will find in the Anglo-American areas of Pennsylvania, but be sure to inquire also about the songs of people of Continental background. Surely the Polish, Lithuanian, Slovakian, and Italian immigrants brought with them a stock of traditional songs; these have not been collected but should be.

COLLECTING DANCES AND GAMES

Folk dance traditions in America have been strangely ignored. The old-time square dance with its tunes and calls is one of the most vital of our folk traditions. The instrumentalists often have enormous repertoires of old dance tunes; record not only these but also the fiddlers' statements about the tunes and dances. Ask the musician, the caller, and the dancer what the various dance terms mean. When were certain tunes played? Which are the easy tunes to play or dance to, and which ones are difficult? Are there any short songs which accompanied the old tunes? What changes have taken place in square dance calling? Does everyone attend a square dance or only some age groups? When, where and why were dances held? Ask about jigging, the buck and wing or clog as well as square dancing and inquire about old round dances.

Most cities have several groups which still do Old World dances. Ask members of such groups about the changes that occurred in the shift of the dance from Europe to America. Ask when the dances take place, who attends and why they enjoy these old dances. Some groups wear traditional costumes when they dance; these should be photographed and the names for the parts of the costumes written down. Find out who makes these costumes and interview them about where they learned their craft and what changes have taken place in costume design over the years.

Careful diagrams should be made of the remaining folk dances. It would be best to make films of these dances, but a large number of still photographs or sketches would also assist the description. We would be glad to arrange help for you in the tape-recording and filming of any traditional dances, from the Old World or the New, and would like to locate genuine folk dance groups in order to present them at festivals.

People who like to talk about the old days *often remember with* remarkable clarity the games of their childhood. They occasionally have early photographs of games in progress and toys which should be borrowed or copied. Modern children generally have a great fund of traditional games. While most folklore seems to thrive best in rural areas, urban children are the possessors of a rich game tradition which may be easily collected. In collecting games be sure to note the rules—both the stated rules and those that are actually used—in great detail; games should be described in such a way that the reader could play them. The diagrams which children make for their games should also be recorded; ideally measurements and a photograph or drawing of such diagrams would be made. The songs and rhymes, such as jump rope and counting out rhymes which accompany or precede the games should, of course, be taken down. A tape-recorder is well suited for such work, but with the cooperation of the children most of the rhymes may be accurately written down while they are being recited. Children should be asked their meanings for terms or ideas in their rhymes. They should also be questioned about the source for their material because they are taught much of it by playground directors and teachers.

COLLECTING RIDDLES

Tell a riddle and you will hear a riddle. The problem with the riddles one hears in casual conversation today is to distinguish between the traditional riddles and the ephemeral products of the advertising men and college youth. Elephant jokes are not folk, for example, neither are the sick jokes or the recent ethnic slur riddles. Such riddles are not in the folk idiom; though a part of the study of folklore, they reflect not folk culture but popular or mass culture. Riddles which can be termed folk are a part of a deep tradition, for example:

> Round as a biscuit, busy as a bee
> The cutest little thing you ever did see.

Most of the traditional riddles have a country or small town background. The riddle "What animal is frightened of the new moon in November," with the answer "a pig," would be understood only by someone who knew that in Pennsylvania pigs were traditionally slaughtered in November when the moon was full because it was believed that the meat of the pig killed then would not shrink.

When you collect riddles, try to find out what the riddle means to the teller. Have him explain the riddle's answer in light of the question which was posed. Why does he remember riddles or tell them? Does he enjoy stumping his audience? Knowing many riddles? Does he take pleasure in group participation? When, why and how were riddles normally told? At special sessions or only as a part of conversation? Are riddles more usual among certain age or sex groups? If one has already heard the riddle does he give the answer or keep quiet while the others attempt to figure it out? How long will the riddler wait before giving the answer?

COLLECTING PROVERBS AND FOLK SPEECH

It is best to collect proverbs and folk speech in context. Listen for characteristic proverbial expressions and folk idioms and jot them down as you hear them or as soon afterward as possible. If you have recording equipment you may simply let the machine run while a person chosen for his speech patterns talks. Later when you transcribe the tape you will probably find many more examples of folk speech in the transcription than you had noticed while he was talking.

When you are collecting examples of folk speech do just as you would with longer items: get as much pertinent data about the informant as possible and note exactly the manner in which the item was used and what in the conversation cued it. If there is some ambiguity about the meaning of a word or proverb, as there often is, you should ask the informant exactly what the word or phrase means to him and why he found it particularly applicable in the situation in which he used it.

You may also approach an informant with specific questions. In order to gather proverbs you should present your informant with situations, such as a boy loses a quarter on the way home after work, and ask him what proverbs he would know to tell the boy or would use in describing the situation to another person. To gather proverbial comparisons you might present your informant with ideas and ask him for a description: a very black dog would be "as black as——"; a very slow moving person would be "as slow as——".

Everyone knows some traditional proverbial material, so that a questionnaire approach may be used with good results. A questionnaire could be prepared listing situations and objects. The same

questionnaire could be used in interviewing a large number of people; the answers would indicate the range of proverbial possibility.

Vocabulary is an important aspect of folk speech, particularly the traditional words for agricultural or craft and industry objects and techniques. You might, for example, go over a wagon with an informant asking him the name of each of its parts, or you might observe a process, such as quilt making, asking at each step for terminology.

COLLECTING BELIEFS

Do not use the word superstition while you are collecting. Superstitions are things which others believe to be true but which you do not, so that to a native of the New Guinea hills your religion and science may be only superstition. "Beliefs" is not only a safer term than superstition, it is a better one.

When collecting folk beliefs do not be a skeptic; in asking for things which you feel are superstitions, it helps to be a little superstitious. You may ask for beliefs in general terms: what did people believe about horses or crops, or what was used to prevent rheumatism, or how could a girl foretell the identity of her husband? Specific questions, however, are more likely to produce quick results. Ask your informant if he has ever heard that it is bad for a pregnant woman to cross a running stream, pass under a horse's neck, or bathe frequently, especially in cold water. Does the husband go to bed as if sick after the baby is born? How does a child get "marked"? By the mother eating unseasonable food which she craves? By her being frightened by a snake or other animal? Does a knife stuck in the bed make the child a boy? Will an axe placed under the bed bring about an easy birth? Or untying the knots in a string? Will a child born with a caul possess second sight? Are twins bad luck?

How can one make a girl fall in love with him? Give her tomatoes to eat? Put a needle that has pierced a dead man's hand in her clothes? Get a spell or a charm from a pow-wow? How do you determine whether or not a person loves you? Name a match after the person and light it; if it burns completely without breaking, does he? How can you determine the identity of your future husband? Throw an apple paring over the right shoulder and note the initial it forms? Put a wish bone from a chicken or turkey over the door and note the first eligible person who walks through? Throw a light by means of a mirror into a well to see the future spouse's face in the water?

Does a falling picture presage death? A strange white dog running by? A howling dog at midnight? What is a death watch beetle? Does it tap out the number of years remaining to the one whose room it is inhabiting? What brings bad luck? A black cat crossing the road before you? Is the word "thunder" uttered during a storm bad luck? Is it bad luck to open an umbrella in the house? Break a mirror? Spill salt? Sweep the house any day but Friday? Do whip-poor-wills bring bad luck? Spiders? A rooster crowing at midnight?

Ask about weather signs: Do thick coats on the wooly caterpillar betoken a hard winter? Does a rooster crowing in a tree betoken fine weather? On the ground, a storm? Does a cat washing its face mean good weather? Do chickens wandering about in the rain indicate that the storm will continue? If they run for shelter does it mean it will be only a brief shower? Will sharp tools uncovered attract lightning? Does a ring around the moon betoken rain? Does a red moon mean a bloody war to come? Do you know any jingles about the weather such as Red at night, sailors delight/Red in the morning, sailors take warning?

In addition to the usual information such as the biographical data of the informant and his source for the item, find out whether he fully believes it, only partially believes it or completely rejects it. Also ask if he knows any instances of the belief turning out to be correct or incorrect, or if he knows how the belief came into existence.

COLLECTING CUSTOMS

In asking about customs it is convenient to order your questioning along these traditional lines: annual customs, both special days, such as Christmas, and special periods, such as harvesting; irregular customs, such as those accompanying quilting bees; customs associated with personal occasions like birthdays and funerals; and the daily and weekly routines of work, play, and worship.

Although you have to search out special informants to sing or tell tales for you, everyone has some information on customs. Older people remember the days when the Hallowe'en and marriage customs of their localities were different from those of other communities, and very different from those of today. People who have recently immigrated to Pennsylvania not only continue to observe and participate in customs quite different from those of the mass culture, but may also retain vivid memories of customs from other lands.

Long tape-recorded reminiscences dealing with occupational patterns, with what work was done by men and what done by women, on how wheat was planted, corn was cut or oxen trained, would be of great value. Do not miss the chance to observe customs which are still alive, such as saint's day celebrations among Mediterranean immigrants; write up such observations in minute detail.

Information on customs should be collected with the same accuracy and attention to context that you employ in collecting songs or tales. Something should not be identified as simply "Lithuanian wedding custom"; the name, age, and occupation of the informant, his exact residence in America and Lithuania, his comments about the custom, about the change in environment, about the social setting of the custom, and the collecting experience should be reported.

COLLECTING MATERIAL CULTURE

Physical objects and methods used to produce them are termed material culture. Very little has been done in the United States on material folk culture, so this field offers the new student of folklore the opportunity to do some very important work. The best way to learn about material culture is to find one of its producers—basket-makers, potters, barn builders, sewers of quilts, or traditional bakers—but a great deal can be learned from the objects themselves, from abandoned outbuildings, or tools found in an attic.

As with other folk traditions, the collector of material culture should try to get as much information as possible. The source for the raw material used in the production of an object, the way it is stored and processed, how long the object takes to make, *exactly* how it is made, and what is done with the completed object are all questions of importance.

A convenient unit of study is the farm. Make a measured plan of the whole farm and all of the buildings on it. Find out how all of the buildings are used and the names for their parts. In making a floor-plan of a house indicate the positions of the important pieces of furniture. A detailed inventory of a particularly well preserved farm—a list of all of the objects in all of the buildings—would be an invaluable guide to the history of the people who have worked the farm. Photograph all of the buildings, the fences and details such as weathervanes, wooden piping, troughs, furniture, kitchen utensils, agricultural im-

plements, and vehicles. Interview the farm's owner about the history of the place and record any anecdotes or legends associated with it.

You might also study individual craftsmen or people with special interests such as the dowsers who locate water with a forked rod. A detailed description of his activities and drawings of his equipment would be of value. Locate older trappers, fishermen, and hunters and discover the beliefs associated with these pursuits and find out how special traps—dead falls, box traps, turkey traps, snares, game pits, paw traps, spring traps—and fishing equipment were made and used. Inquire about the origins of the practices you observe, for there are often folk explanations for things like why wagon wheels are dished, why hex signs are painted on barns, and why some buildings face in certain directions.

The larger industries, in which Pennsylvania abounds, are not, in themselves, folk, but much folklore is associated with them. There are tales and songs by and about lumberjacks, coal miners, and oil drillers. These groups all have special beliefs and vocabularies which are associated with their occupations. Also, their tools and the ways those tools are used are often traditional. The shanties and sleds, chains, rafts, jamb pikes, augers, and much of the cuisine of the lumberjack is material folk culture.

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This *Guide* is a guide: it is meant to be suggestive, to stimulate you to inquire and search not only for the items mentioned here, but also for the thousands not mentioned and for the human and cultural contexts in which those items exist. Use the materials in the second part of the *Guide* as examples of the kinds of things for which you will be hunting. Remember that you cannot possibly get too much information, and write to us about your problems, experiences and exciting discoveries. It is important for us to get to know you so that we may call on each other for information and advice.

Write to:

The Ethnic Studies Section
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
Box 1026
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108

PART II

SOME EXAMPLES OF PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLORE

All of the material in this section was collected in Pennsylvania. Most of it was taken from the publications on Pennsylvania folklore which are included in the Suggested Readings section at the end of this booklet; others are from unpublished field collections. If you have any questions about the sources of individual items, please write us.

Tales

Tales range from the joke and short anecdote heard frequently in everyday conversation to the long marvelous tale heard today only rarely. An example of the former was told at a coffee break at the Historical and Museum Commission in 1967. A joke was told about a city slicker who tried to get an Alabama store keeper to change an eighteen dollar bill and was offered three sixes or two nines in exchange. Then Winslow Shaughnessy, curator of Natural Science, came up with this one:

> It's sorta like this old guy from Perry County who was asked by a tourist—you know, he thought this guy was kind of quaint, and asked him if he'd lived there all his life. And, he replied, "Nope, not yet."

This joke would appear to be a unique item based on fact but actually it has been told and adapted to different localities throughout the eastern United States, and particularly, it seems, in New England.

A great deal of folklore was collected during the 1930's by the W.P.A.; only a small proportion of this material has ever been published. This anecdote is taken from the W.P.A. Racial Backgrounds files preserved in the Archives Building in Harrisburg; it comes from Lawrence County:

> One New Castle Irishman related the following story about his countrymen. A group of Irishmen were gathered in a

local grocery store for an evening of gossip when one of their fellow workmen entered and shouted:

"Who built the railroad?"

Chorus: "The Irish"

"Who built the penitentiaries?"

Chorus: "The Irish"

"Who filled the penitentiaries?"

Whisper: "The Irish"

"Who built the canals?"

Chorus: "The Irish"

"Who built the lakes and river?"

Chorus: "God"

"Then the Irish must be next to God since they built the canals."

Anecdotes told as reports of actual occurrences may have a great deal of traditional content; often they are told, retold, and stabilized into stories which are passed on, taking on with each telling more and more of the nature of a traditional tale. Hex practices and witchcraft are still to be found in Pennsylvania, and many stories dealing with the power and knowledge of the pow-wow doctor exist:

> There was this woman lived near Reading. When her first baby was six months old, she was putting it to bed, when she saw a hand come through the window and touch the baby on the head. It immediately had a fit and, before she could get the doctor, it died. Now, this same thing happened with the next child. When the third child was born, her mother made her tell a powwow doctor, and he told her to hide a knife in her clothes, and when the hand came in to slash it. And she was to see the kind of mark it made. And then the next day she was to see if any of her neighbors had her hand tied up and then she was to see if it was the same mark. Sure enough the next day one of her neighbors had her hand tied up. The mother made her show it and it was the same cut. That broke the spell and she confessed that she was hexing the children because the father had married this other woman and not her.

Tales about hoopsnakes are found widely in America, though the hoopsnake, which rolls along holding its tail in its mouth, seems to thrive particularly well in Pennsylvania and the Northern lumber camps. Bill Durham, a Pike Countian who had been a raftsman on the Delaware, told this one:

> "Yeh! o'course, they is hoopsnakes. Why they wuz a feller down to Matamorris who had a little field down close to the

river. This feller wuz out hoeing corn one morning and along about nine o'clock he wuz a-leanin' on the hoe handle, restin'. He looked up the corn row, and there wuz a big hoopsnake rollin' right at him. All he could do wuz to stand behind the hoe handle, and when the snake struck at him, it hit the hoe handle close to the head. The feller wuz so scared he just ran for the house and left the snake stuck to the handle.

"Along about five o'clock, the feller started out to see what had become of the hoopsnake. He had heered that snakes what git into fights die at sundown, and it wuz nearing dark then. So he stole back to where he had the fight with the snake and, sure enough there wuz the snake, dead as a last spring shad. But the pizen had swole the handle up until it was as big as a saw log. Now this feller wuz a thrifty cuss so he ran back, got his team, drug the log down to the sawmill, had it sawed up into shingles, and shingled his barn with them. But when the first big rain come, it washed out all the pizen and the shingles all shrunk up and fell off, or you could've seed it to this day."

The log which swells up from snake bite is a tall tale found especially in the mountainous areas of the South. The tall tale form is found in many parts of the United States and—despite the statements of some writers to the contrary—also in Europe. Tall tales, or lies as they are frequently called, are usually the property of men and deal with masculine interests; hunting is a particularly common tall tale topic. The following tall tale was collected in 1966 by David Walton from Lou Sesher, a 76-year-old retired riverboat engineer from Lock Four, Pennsylvania:

Fellow, he, he told me that his dad had a gun and they shot it, they loaded it with nails and dynamite, you know. When they shot that gun the noise stayed around two or three days, he said. It, it was terrific. And he says no use for anything to keep on running because the bullet got after a deer and it just stayed after it until it got it. And he said the drops of sweat would be on that bullet just as big as your finger. But they'd run them down. Run them right home. Said they generally run them up in the yard and caught up with them. And then you didn't have to go out and haul them in, you know. The bullet stayed after—he said one time he was fishing by a creek and a couple days before he had took a shot at a deer. But he said he heard a noise and here come that deer up the creek and through the hazelbrush, you know. And, ah, running to beat hell. And that bullet was still after him. And run him up in the yard and felled him right there at the smokehouse. And they didn't have to do a thing.

A legend frequently collected by folklorists in southern Germany and the German areas of Pennsylvania is that of "The Eternal Hunter"; this version was recorded in 1957 from J. Hampton Haideman, a Schuylkill County pharmacist:

> It's an old story that dates back three hundred years. It seems that at that time the summer had been very, very dry. The creeks were practically waterless. The crops failed, and naturally, the game—deer and rabbits—crossed over the mountain; that is, the other side of these Blue Mountains. The villagers were in dire circumstances. Venison was a cheap source of food. One of the old men decided that he would take his dogs, go across the mountain, and chase back the deer to save this community of Pine Grove. When he left he said he would hunt forever, if necessary, even through the sky, to chase the deer back. And that is one reason why late at night in the fall you hear noises in the sky, the sounds of barking, and the report of shotgun fire. That is the story of Ewich Yaeger. He's hunting forever through the sky.

The following tale is a combination of two international folk motifs: the pact with the Devil, and the Devil as builder. It was told in 1963 by Hiram Cranmer, traditional singer and old-time woodsman, who lives west of Renovo in Clinton County:

"The Barn Built by the Devil"

> This place where the Devil built a barn was on the Susquehanna about one mile from New Buffalo. Anywhere along there stop and inquire of anybody and they'll point out the place. The last I knew the foundation was there. My father said he didn't believe it. He was goin' down the raft in 1866 and the pilot pointed it out and told the story. This man wanted a barn and he made a bargain with the Devil. The Devil was to build him a barn that was to last a hundred years and he was to build it at night and have it all done before the rooster crowed. He'd have the barn all finished in return for the man's soul. He'd give him his soul for that barn.
>
> That night he and his wife, they couldn't sleep. There was this awful pounding going on out there on this foundation. His wife wanted to know what was going on and she kept naggin' at him, and naggin' at him. And when it was purt a neer morning he thought the barn must be finished and he told her. She dressed and put on an apron and lit a candle and held it under the apron and went out to the chicken coop. Then she raised the apron and the rooster saw the light and crowed. Instantly it was silence. Well, next morning there

was the new barn, but there was a place about ten feet square that wasn't finished. It was on the river side, up on the river end of the barn. Well, this man thought it would easily be finished, but every time he put the shingles on there the next morning they would be layin' down on the ground. He tried time after time and he couldn't finish the barn.

I was curious the first time I went along there and I looked over and I could see that it wasn't all shingled; there was this place about ten feet square and I asked the conductor. You see, I was riding on the train along there. And the conductor he told me that was the barn the Devil built. Every time I passed on the railroad I was always watchin' it. Comin' up the other way on the other side you couldn't see it.

The last time I was along there that barn was gone. I wrote this lady that lived that way and she wrote back that the hurricane of 1946 blew it away. That was just a hundred years since the Devil built it. In the night it blew away, and they never could find a board from it. It didn't go down the river, the boards would have been floating. That was all the damage that hurricane done, just took the barn. The Devil came and got it, I guess.

This version of "The Barn Built by the Devil" is typical of the tale as it is found in America, though one detail is unusual. Usually the man whose soul is in jeopardy goes to the chicken house before daylight and crows. His crowing starts the rooster crowing, tricking the Devil into thinking that it is daybreak and that he must consequently hasten away. The wife with the candle is certainly more dramatic and nicely makes the point that the good wife saves the husband from the Devil.

Recent immigrants absorb the traditions they find in a new land, build up new traditions which are distinctly theirs, and also remember the traditions of the country they have left behind. A Slovakian woman in western Pennsylvania remembered the following legend from her homeland in the 1930's. The elements which were combined to produce this tale are those which are commonly attached to European-American folk heroes: the fact that Janosik took from the rich to give to the poor reminds one of Robin Hood, Jesse James, or Central Pennsylvania's Lewis the Robber; his dwelling in the cave, King Arthur; his twelve followers and death by trickery, too, are a part of the tradition of the hero.

Under a Virhorlet Mountain is a cave, which has an iron door at its entrance. The legend is that once, a long time ago, it was the home of a young man named Janosik. Janosik built several rooms inside the cave, where he and his band of

twelve young men lived It was a time of oppression for the peasants, whose landlords did not give them enough to live on. Men, women and children were starving, and Janosik and his band attempted to right their wrongs by raiding the wealthy landowners and helping the poor with what they had taken.

The common people looked upon him as a hero, but naturally the wealthy people regarded him as a thief and an enemy. They tried to capture him for a long time, and finally succeeded on an occasion when he was attending the wedding of one of his friends. It is said that beans were thrown on the floor to make it impossible for him to run away, and he was finally killed.

The following story, collected from Mrs. Jennie M. Kline of Bernville, Pennsylvania, about 1940, is a Pennsylvania German version of a folktale found commonly in oral tradition throughout Europe, as far away as the Philippines and as nearby as French Canada, the Southern Appalachians, and the Negro South.

"Eileschpijjel Gets a Herd of Cattle"

Eileschpijjel had made himself obnoxious to his neighbors and they planned to drown him, so that they would be rid of him once for all. The put him in a cask, and started out for the sea. On their way they came to a tavern, and leaving the cask outside, went in to drink to the success of their undertaking.

Meanwhile a drover came along with a large drove of cattle. Now when Eileschpijjel heard that someone was approaching, he began to moan, "I can't do it, and I won't do it. I can't do it, and I won't do it."

The drover hearing the moaning stopped and listened. Eileschpijjel again moaned, "I can't do it, and I won't do it."

"What can't you do?" asked the drover.

"They want me to marry the king's daughter, and I won't do it. And they are taking me to the king to compel me to marry his daughter," answered Eileschpijjel. "I can't do it, and I won't do it."

"Let me take your place," said the drover, "I'll marry the king's daughter."

The drover took Eileschpijjel's place in the cask and Eileschpijjel took the cattle and drove them to his home.

The neighbors came out of the tavern, took the cask to the sea and sank it. Then with the feeling that they had finally got rid of Eileschpijjel, they went home in great spirits.

Their astonishment was great when they saw Eischpijjel, and even greater when they saw the cattle which he had gotten.

Said Eileschpijjel, "Down on the bottom of the sea are many such cattle. These I drove up the bank and out on the shore, and brought them home."

All the neighbors, eager to get cattle, rushed to the sea and jumped in. All of them were drowned.

As this tale is usually told, the man is tied in a sack and tells a shepherd that he is going to Heaven. The shepherd gives the man his flock and takes his place in the sack. Later the person who had tied him in the sack finds him counting his sheep and is told that the bubbles in the water were sheep, whereupon the bad one jumps in the water and is drowned. Eileschpijjel is the German Pennsylvania Dutch foolish trickster who corresponds to the British Appalachian Jack; indeed, as the story is told in the Southern Mountains it is Jack who tricks his way out of the sack.

Songs

Pennsylvania has not been as thoroughly combed for British traditional ballads as many other states such as Maine and Virginia have; the central and southwestern portions of the State, however, are probably still rich in ballad singing, and from these areas a number of folksongs have been collected. Following are two good versions of British ballads collected by Professor Samuel P. Bayard of Pennsylvania State University. This version of "The Cruel Mother" was sung in 1929 by Peter Cole, an old-time farrier from Greene County:

"There Was A Lady Lived In York"

1. There was a lady lived in York,
   Tra la lee and a lidey O! *
   She fell in love with her father's clerk,
   Down by the greenwood sidey O!
2. She leant herself against an oak,
   And first it bent, and then it broke,
3. She leant herself against a tree,
   And there she had her misery.
4. She leant herself against a thorn,
   And there's where these two babes were born.
5. She pulled out her little penknife;
   She pierced them through their tender hearts.

* The refrain is sung with each stanza as it is in the first.

6. She pulled out her white handkerchief;
   She bound them up both head and foot.
7. She buried them under a marble stone,
   And then returned to her merry maid's home.
8. As she sat in her father's hall,
   She saw these two babes playing ball.
9. Says she, Pretty babes, if you were mine,
   I'd dress you in the silk so fine.
10. Say, dear mother, when we were thine,
    You neither dressed us coarse or fine.
11. But you pulled out your little penknife;
    You pierced it through our tender hearts.
12. Then you pulled out your white handkerchief;
    You bound us up both head and foot.
13. You buried us under a marble stone,
    And then returned to your merry maid's home.
14. Seven years to wash and wring,
    Seven more to card and spin.
15. Seven more to ring them bells,
    Tra la lee and a lidey O!
    Seven more to serve in hell,
    Down by the greenwood sidey O!

A ballad is a song that tells a story. The oldest of the British ballads, some of which date to medieval times, are characterized by a distinct style. They often include repetitive words, phrases, or entire stanzas, which emphasize and add emotion and melody to the ballad's story. The story is objectively told with a concentration on the climax, little attention to detail, and no explanation of psychological motivation such as one finds in a modern novel. Usually a ballad includes some conventional phrases—lily-white hand or milk-white steed, for examples—and often it has a chorus or refrain.

This old ballad, known to scholars as "The Farmer's Curst Wife," was titled "Old Jokey Song" by F. P. Provance of Fayette County, who sang it in 1943:

1. It's off an old man, and he lived poor,
   He lived in a house that had but one door.

Chorus: Sing whack faloora, loora lay,
        Sing whack faloora, laddie *

2. This old man he went out to foller the plow;
   'Long comes the devil, saying, I'll have you now!
3. You shan't have me nor my oldest son,
   But my old scolding wife, take her and wel*come*!

* Chorus is repeated after each stanza.

4. He hobbust her up all onto his back,
Like a pedlar packin' his pack.
5. He packed her along till he came to hell's gates;
He hit her a kick, saying, Go in, you old jade!
6. And he packed her along till he came to hell's door;
And he hit her a kick saying, Go in, you old whore!
7. Now one little devil come in and sit by 'er:
She up with her foot and she kicked him in the fire.
8. Oh, two little devils with rattlesome chains,
She up with the poker, she knocked out their brains.
9. Then two little devils were lying in bed:
She up with the poker, she killed 'em both dead.
10. Then one little devil run up the wall,
Crying, Pap, take 'er out o' hell, or she'll kill us all!
11. Then he hobbust her up all onto his pack,
And like a danged fool he went packin' her back.
12. Then he packed 'er along till he come to hell's door;
He hit her a kick, saying, Gwout[go out], you old whore!
13. Then he packed her along till he come to hell's gates;
And he hit her a kick, saying, Gwout, you old jade!
14. He says, Now here's your old woman both sound and well—
If I'd kep' her much longer, she'd lathered all hell!
15. She was seven years going and seven years coming back,
And she called for the mush that she left in the pot.

The following song is typical of the ballads which first appeared for sale in Britain printed on one side of a sheet of paper called a broadside, and were then widely accepted, sung, and changed by traditional singers. It was collected about 1922 from Henry A. Burton of Roulette, Pennsylvania:

"Pretty Polly"

1. In the lowlands of Holland Pretty Polly did dwell;
She was courted by a captain, who loved her full well;
When her cruel parents they came for to hear,
They swore they would part her and her dearest dear.
2. As Polly lay musing one night in her bed,
A comical fancy came into her head;
Neither father nor mother shall make me false proof;
I'll enlist, a bold soldier, and follow my love.
3. She went to the stable, the stalls she viewed round;
She took out a gray mare that could travel the ground.
With a brace of horse pistols, and sword by her side,
Like a gay gallant, trooper Pretty Polly did ride.

4. She rode 'till she came to the sign of the Cross;
By the sound of a trumpet she dismounted her horse;
The first one came in was an Englishman brave;
And the next who came in was Pretty Polly's true love.
5. What news, what news, young man, do you bring?
"Here's a letter from Polly, from old England."
In opening this letter, ten guineas he found,
For him and his soldiers to drink their health round.
6. Then Polly, feeling weary, she hung down her head,
And called for a candle to light her to bed.
The captain stepped up—"I've a bed at my ease,
And you may lie with me, young man, if you please."
7. "To lie with a captain is a delicate thing.
I'm a new enlisted soldier under George Washington.
I'll fight for my country, by sea or by land,
And if you'll be my captain, I'll be at your command."
8. So early next morning Pretty Polly arose;
She dressed herself up in a suit of girl's clothes;
The captain he viewed her from tip unto toe;
He flew to her arms, saying, "Love, how do you do?"
9. So now they are married and live at their ease;
She can go when she's a mind to, and come when she please.
And left her cruel parents in tears to remain,
For they would give thousands to see her again.

There are several different ballads entitled "Pretty Polly": some, like this one, deal with a girl dressing as a soldier or sailor to follow her sweetheart; the one most commonly sung today tells of a young man killing his pregnant lover and burying her in a shallow grave.

The English, Scots and Irish were not the only early settlers who brought their traditional songs to America: a folksong tradition has been found among the Pennsylvania Germans. The following song, which is also known in Germany, was collected by Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell from Mrs. Jane Reitz of Northumberland County in 1938.

"Ä, Ä, Ä, d'r Winder der is dâ"

1. Ä, Ä, Ä, d'r Winder der is dâ,
Herbscht un Sommer sin vergange;
Un d'r Winder angekommen,
Ä, Ä, Ä, d'r Winder der is dâ.
2. Ie, Ie, Ie, geht en reisend Schnee,
Blumme bliehe an di Fenschderscheiwe;
Mudder un Kinner di Hende reiwe.
Ie, Ie, Ie, geht en reisend Schnee.

3. Ei, Ei, Ei, vergiss di Ärme nie,
Hot m'r nix sich zu zudecke,
Wird d'r Froscht un Keld arschrecke.
Ei, Ei, Ei, vergiss di Arme nie.
4. O, O, O, was sin di Kinner so froh,
Wenn des Grischtkindel dutt was bringe;
Un di Engel hoch duhn singe.
O, O, O, was sin di Kinner so froh.
5. Eu, Eu, Eu, no weiss ich was ich du—
Grischtkindel lieben, Grischtkindel loben,
Mit den scheenen Englen droben.
Eu, Eu, Eu, no weiss ich was ich du.

Notice that this song rhymes all of the vowels in the Pennsylvania Dutch text. The translation is as follows:

1. A, A, A, winter is here,
Autumn and summer are gone;
Winter has come.
A, A, A, winter is here.
2. E, E, E, a cutting snow is falling,
Flowerlike frost is on the windowpanes;
Mother and children are rubbing their hands.
E, E, E, a cutting snow is falling.
3. I, I, I, don't forget the poor,
Those who have no shelter
Will be scared by frost and cold.
I, I, I, don't forget the poor.
4. O, O, O, the children are happy,
As the Christ Child is bringing gifts;
And the angels on high are singing.
O, O, O, the children are happy.
5. U, U, U, I know what I shall do—
Love the Christ Child, praise the Christ Child,
Even as the angels do on high.
U, U, U, I know what I shall do.

Hundreds of new songs were composed in America on patterns brought from the Old World. Many American ballads, written in a detailed journalistic style which seems to have come from the British broadside press, dealt with contemporary events. One of these, which still thrives in tradition, is "James Bird." Bird was born in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, in 1785. He marched with the Kingston Volunteers through Sullivan County to join Perry, and, according to *American State Papers, Naval Affairs,* Volume I, pages 296 and 567, he was

"severely" wounded in the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. His share of "prize money" was received by his father on January 10, 1815. The court martial proceedings in the National Archives indicate that James Bird was tried on September 12, 1814, on the charge of desertion, specifically "that on the evening of the 4th of June 1814 whilst in charge of a guard, at the Naval Store House in Erie, for the protection of the public property deposited there, he did shamefully desert his post." He pleaded guilty, the court unanimously sentenced him to death, President Madison approved the sentence on October 22, 1814, and on November 11, 1814, he was executed on board the *Niagara*, the ship on which he had valiantly fought.

"James Bird"

1. Ye sons of freedom, listen to me,
And ye daughters, too, give ear;
You a sad and mournful story
As ever was told shall hear.
2. Hull you know his troops surrendered,
And defenseless left the west,
Our forces quick assembled
The invaders to resist.
3. Tender were the words of parting;
Mothers wrung their hands and cried:
Maidens wept their swains in secret,
Fathers strove their tears to hide.
4. With the troops that marched to Erie
To protect our West frontiers—
Captain Thomas the commander—
Were our Kingston Volunteers.
5. There was one among our number
Tall and graceful in his mien,
Firm his step, his look undaunted,
Scarce a nobler youth was seen.
6. One sweet kiss he snatched from Mary,
Craved his mother's prayer once more,
Pressed his father's hand and left them
For Lake Erie's distant shore.
7. Mary tried to say "Farewell, James,"
Waved her hand but nothing spoke;
"Good-by, Bird, may heaven protect you."
From the rest at parting broke.
8. Soon they came where gallant Perry
Had assembled all his fleet;
There the gallant Bird enlisted,
Hoping soon the foe to meet.

9. Where is the Bird? The battle rages;
Is he in the fight or no?
Now the cannons roar tremendous;
Dare he meet the hostile foe?

10. See behold him there with Perry.
In the selfsame ship they fight;
Though his messmates fall around him,
Nothing can his soul affright.

11. But, behold, a ball has struck him;
See the crimson current flow.
"Leave the deck", exclaimed brave Perry;
"No", cried Bird, "I will not go.

12. Here on deck I took my station,
Ne'er will Bird his colors fly;
I'll stand by you, noble captain,
Till we conquer or we die."

13. Still he fought, all faint and bleeding,
Till the stars and stripes arose,
Victory having crowned our efforts
All triumphant o'er our foes.

14. Then did Bird receive a pension?
Was he to his friends restored?
No. Nor to his bosom clasped he
The sweet maid his heart adored.

15. But there came most dismal tidings
From Lake Erie's distant shore.
Better far if Bird had perished
'Midst the battle's awful roar.

16. "Dearest parents," read the letter,
"This will bring sad news to you,
Do not mourn your first beloved,
Though this brings his last adieu.

17. "Read this letter, brother, sister,
'Tis the last you'll have from me.
I must suffer for deserting
From the brig Niagara."

18. Sad and gloomy was the morning
Bird was ordered out to die;
Where's the breast not dead to pity,
But for him would heave a sigh?

19. See him march and bear his fetters—
Hark they clank upon his ear;
But his step is firm and manly,
For his heart ne'er harbors fear.

20. Oh, he fought so brave at Erie,
Freely bled and nobly dared;
Let his courage plead for mercy,
Let his precious life be spared.

21. See he kneels upon his coffin,
Sure his death can do no good.
Spare him. Hark! O God, they've shot him;
See his bosom stream with blood.

22. Farewell Bird, farewell forever.
Home and friends, you'll see no more.
And your mangled corpse lies buried
On Lake Erie's distant shore.

The composer of "James Bird," one Charles Miner, was sympathetic to Bird, perhaps because he was a Federalist newspaper editor and felt the affair would be a good tool with which to attack the Madison administration. The historian Benson J. Lossing, who travelled around the country gathering material for his *Field Book of the War of 1812* (1868), wrote of Bird, "It was thought by some that his pardon, under the circumstances, might not have been detrimental to the public good." Lossing also describes the "doleful ballad" as being "very popular throughout the country, drawing tears from unrefined and sensitive listeners." Tradition has defended Bird and many legends attempting to explain his desertion have sprung up. Some say that he deserted to go fight with Jackson at New Orleans and was arrested as he was about to embark at Pittsburgh. Another legend states that after he deserted he worked for a man who turned him in for a reward. Others say that he was given a leave of absence by his commanding officer so that he could visit his betrothed. When he returned, the officer who had granted the leave was on duty elsewhere, so Bird was accused, tried, and convicted of desertion. The story goes that the officer rode three horses to death trying to reach the Niagara before Bird was shot. It is also said that Perry rode on horseback from Buffalo and arrived just as the fatal volley was fired.

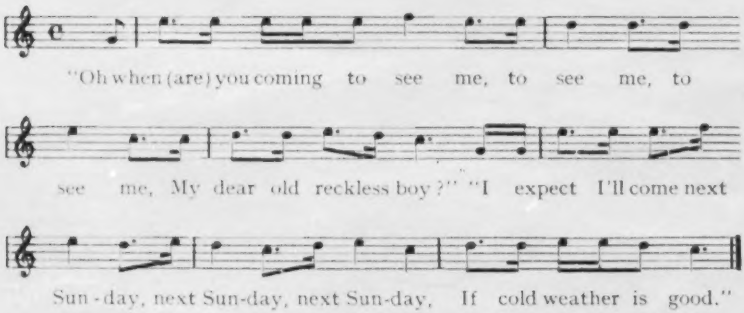
"A Mountaineer's Courtship," the humorous song which follows, sounds as if it were a product of the frontier; yet, it was known in eighteenth century England and folklorists are still finding it there. A version collected in England in 1908 began:

O when shall us be married
To my old dear Nickety Nod
I think on Sunday morning
And won't it be wonderful good

In the United States it seems to be most common in the South and West. Although in the usual American version it is dear old Buffalo Boy rather than dear old reckless boy who does the casual courting,

the version from Pennsylvania is typical of those found on this side of the Atlantic.

"A Mountaineer's Courtship"



2. "Oh how long do you think you will court me, court me, court me,
Oh how long do you think you will court me,
My dear old reckless boy?"
"I expect I will court you all night, all night, all night,
I expect I will court you all night,
If cold weather is good."
3. "Oh when do you think we will marry, we will marry, we will marry,
Oh when do you think we will marry,
My dear old reckless boy?
"I expect we'll marry in a week, in a week, in a week,
If cold weather is good."
4. "Oh what are you going to ride to the wedding in, the wedding in, the wedding in,
My dear old reckless boy?"
"I expect I will ride my log sled, my log sled, my log sled,
I expect I will ride my log sled,
If cold weather is good."
5. "Who are you going to bring to the wedding in, the wedding in, the wedding in,
Oh who are you going to bring to the wedding in,
My dear old reckless boy?"
"I expect I'll bring my children, my children, my children,
Oh I expect I'll bring my children,
If cold weather is good."

6. "Well, I didn't know you had any children, any children, any children,
Well, I didn't know you had any children,
My dear old reckless boy."
"Oh yes, I have six children, six children, six children,
Oh yes, I have six children, Jales, Jake, Jim, Joles, Sally and the baby."

Pennsylvania's occupational groups have been rich in traditional songs which reflect their way of life. One such song is "Colley's Run I-O", a lumberjack song collected in 1901 from Leary Miller in Clinton County. "Colley's Run I-O" or "The Jolly Lumbermen" is a Pennsylvania variant of the song "Canaday I-O" which may have been written in Maine in 1854, and which was popular in the Maine lumbercamps. The song was known in the Michigan lumberwoods as "Michigan I-O" and on the western plains it was reworked into "The Buffalo Skinners."

"The Jolly Lumbermen"

1. Come all you jolly lumbermen,
And listen to my song,
But do not get uneasy,
For I won't detain you long.
Concerning some jolly lumbermen
Who once agreed to go
And spend a winter recently
On Colley's Run, i-oh!

2. We landed in Lock Haven,
The year of seventy-three.
A minister of the gospel
One evening said to me,
Are you the party of lumbermen
That once agreed to go
And spend a winter pleasantly
On Colley's Run, i-oh?

3. Oh yes, we'll go to Colley's Run,
To that we will agree,
Provided you pay good wages,
Our passage to and fro,
Then we'll agree to accompany you
To Colley's Run, i-oh!

4. Oh yes, we'll pay good wages,
Your passage to and fro,
Provided you will sign papers
To stay the winter through.

But, mind you, if you get homesick,
And back you swear you'll go,
You'll have to pay your own passage down
From Colley's Run, i-oh!

5. 'Twas by that 'tarnel agreement
That we agreed to go—
Full five and twenty in number,
All able-bodied men.

6. The road it was a pleasant one;
By train we had to go,
Till we landed at McFarling's tavern,
Full seventeen miles below.
But there our joys were ended,
Our troubles they began;
The Captain and Foreman
Came following up the Run.

7. They led us in every direction,
Through some places I did not know,
Among the pines which grew so tall
On Colley's Run, i-oh!

8. Our hearts were clad with iron,
Our soles where shod with steel,
But the usages of that winter
Would scarcely make a shield.

9. For our grub the dogs would laugh at,
And our beds were wet with snow;
God grant there is no worse hell on earth
Than Colley's Run, i-oh!

10. But now the spring has come again,
And the ice-bound streams are free;
We'll float our logs to Williamsport,
Our friends we'll haste to see.

11. Our sweethearts they will welcome us,
And bid others not to go
To that God-forsaken gehooley of a place
Of Colley's Run, i-oh!

The coal miners, too, had a strong tradition of folksong; these songs have been carefully collected and studied by George G. Korson. Many of the miners' songs he found dealt with the hard times and disasters which were a part of the coal industry. But many of the miners loved their work and fiddle tunes and humerous ditties were also a part of their tradition. Two variants of one short song which Korson collected from the Hill family of the Schuylkill County hills in the 1930's follow:

A. My sweetheart's the mule in the mines,
I drive her without any lines,
On the bumper I stand,
With my whip in my hand
My sweetheart's the mule in the mines.

B. My sweetheart's the mule in the mines,
I drive her without any lines,
On the bumper I sit,
I chew and I spit
All over my sweetheart's behind.

About the turn of the century Pennsylvania's industries attracted many immigrants. They brought folksongs from the old country and here they composed new ones about their experiences. The following song was composed in Slovakian by a steel worker, Andrew Kovaly, after he saw a friend killed under an ingot buggy. He sang the song for the widow of his friend, who arrived in America shortly after the accident. It was collected from Mr. Kovaly in McKeesport in 1947.

"Odpočívam v Americkej pôde"

(I Lie in the American Land)

1. *El Božemoj cotej Ameriki!*
Idze doňej narod preveliki,
Ija pojdzem, šak som mladi ešče.
Dami Panboh tam dajake sčesce.
2. *Jaše vracim kecme nezabije,*
lem ti čekaj odomňe novinu.
Jak ot domňe novinu dostaneš,
šicko sebe doporjatku prines,
sama šedneš navraneho koňa,
atak pridzeš draha dušo moja.
3. *Ajak vona do McKeesport prišla,*
to uš muža živoho nenašla;
lem totu krev co znoho kapkala
atak nadnu, prehorko plakala.
4. *"Ej mužumoj co žeši učinil,*
žesi tote dzeci osirocil!"
"Povic ženo tej mojej siroce,
žeja ležim utej Americe;
povic ženo najme nečekaju,
boja ležim v Americkim kraju."

1. Ah, my God, what's in America?
Very many people are going over there.
I will also go, for I am still young;
God, the Lord, grant me good luck there.

2. I'll return if I don't get killed
But you wait for news from me.
When you hear from me
Put everything in order,
Mount a raven-black horse,
And come to me, dear soul of mine.

3. But when she came to McKeesport,
She did not find her husband alive;
Only his blood did she find
And over it bitterly she cried.

4. "Ah, my husband, what did you do,
Orphaned these children of ours?"
"To these orphans of mine, my wife, say
That I lie in America.
Tell them, wife of mine, not to wait for me,
For I lie in the American land."

All of the early groups brought religious folksongs with them to Pennsylvania. Most of the early religious songs were lost and replaced during the nineteenth century revivalistic movements, but the spirituals which arose during those movements have become absorbed into the folk tradition of many parts of America, especially the South. These nineteenth century sacred songs are still to be found in the southern-oriented areas of Pennsylvania and its German sections. Typical of the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals is:

"De Tseit Kotst Immer Op"

De tseit kost immer op,
De tseit kost immer op,
De tseit, de tseit
Kotst immer op.
Nuch Nei Yaroosalem,
Nuch Nei Yaroosalem,
Nuch Nei, Nuch Nei
Yaroosalem.
Gutt visht de traina op,
Gutt visht de traina op,
Gutt visht, Gutt visht
De traina op

(translation)

My time is growing short,
My time is growing short,
My time, My time
Is growing short.

To New Jerusalem
To New Jerusalem
To New, To New
Jerusalem
God takes our tears away
God takes our tears away
God takes, God takes
Our tears away.

Games

When a fiddler could not be found or where fiddling was prohibited by religious belief, play parties took the place of dancing. In a play party, a song, often giving directions, was sung by the dancers. One of the most common of these, known throughout Pennsylvania, in other parts of America and in Ireland, is this one from Butler County tradition. It was remembered by Lily Bell Dietrick in 1944:

"King William"

1. King William was King James's son,
And from a royal race he sprung;
He wore a star upon his breast,
A-pointing to the East and West.
2. Go choose your east, go choose your west,
Go choose the one that you love best.
If she's not here to take your part,
Go choose another with all your heart.
3. Down on this carpet you must kneel,
As sure as grass grows in the field;
Salute your bride and kiss her sweet,
And now you may rise upon your feet.

The game began with a circle of young people holding hands; one boy was in the center of the ring. On the first two lines of the song the circle walked to the left; on the second two lines they walked to the right. During the second stanza the boy chose a girl. During the third stanza he took her to the center of the circle, knelt down, and then stood up and kissed her.

A game played by Quaker children in New England, Ohio, and Michigan, as well as Pennsylvania, includes this rhyming dialogue:

Q: Quaker, Quaker how is thee?
A: Very well, thank thee.

Q: How's thy neighbor next to thee?
A: I don't know, but I'll go see!

It was apparently played in several ways; one description follows: "We would sit (or stand) in a circle, and as each player turned to his neighbor to repeat the question, some of his body was put in motion. Perhaps he would shake his head. The next player then repeated the question, shook his head, and also added another movement, such as waving an arm or swinging a foot. This continued around the circle until those at the end were shaking every part of the body, or else all had already dissolved into shrieks of laughter!"

The rhymes children use to accompany ball bouncing or rope jumping are remarkably widespread. This jump-rope rhyme, collected from Negro girls in Philadelphia about 1959, is a version of a rhyme known throughout the United States and Britain; it seem to date back to a Scottish Jacobite song of 1748 which dealt with Bonnie Prince Charlie:

Johnny on the Ocean
Johnny on the sea
Johnny broke a cup
And blame it on me
I told mama
Mama told Papa
And Johnny got hahaha.

The counting-out rhymes children use for choosing sides are similarly widespread and remarkably old. Frequently they involve numbers or nonsense syllables which appear to be a distortion of numbers as in this Pennsylvania German rhyme:

Eens, zwei, drei
Hicke, hocke, hei
Zucker, uf der Brei
Peffer uf der Speck
Hohne geh aweg
Oder ich schlaf dich in der Dreck.

There are many games accompanied by rhymes which older people play with young children. One type, which may be related to counting out, is that in which the child's fingers or toes are counted while a jingle is recited. Mrs. George T. Moore, of Tunkhannock, remembered the following pair in June, 1967; she learned them from "an old lady up in the country."

to count the toes: Little ped,
Penny ute,
Uta wistle,
Made a hostle,
Tom Bumbo.

to count the fingers: Thumbo great,
Lick pot sweet,
Long man ling,
Little man king,
Jack-a-dirty.

Not all traditional children's games are accompanied by a song or rhyme; many, like the numerous variations on tag, include only physical activity. Others have set verbal patterns which make the games into tiny simple plays. Early in 1967, Gloria Burkholder, a ten-year-old from York County with Pennsylvania German background, was observed teaching the game "Fox and Chickens" to two smaller children. "Fox" stood at a cement walk which led from the house to the barn; the "Chickens" stood at a wire fence twenty feet away. The Chickens held hands and walked slowly, cautiously, toward Fox saying, "What time is it Mr. Fox?"; Fox would answer, "Six o'clock," or some other time; there was no pattern to Fox's answers. When the chickens were three or four feet from Fox, he would answer, "Midnight" and the chickens would attempt to scramble back to the fence. The chickens who were caught were made Fox's "helpers." The last chicken caught was Fox for the next game. This game is one of a large family of chasing games, which deal with a witch and children, fox and geese, or a hawk and hens, found throughout Europe and America. Exactly this game was collected in England in the nineteenth century, and recently in New York State where it was called "Fox and Lambs."

Some games which have no verbal formulas do have a specialized vocabulary, intricate traditional rules and home-made equipment or diagrams; hop scotch, which can be found in any modern town and was played by the children of ancient Rome, is the most obvious example of such a game. A popular game with Negro boys in Philadelphia is "deadblock" which has very complex rules but essentially consists of pitching a bottle cap from block to block in numerical sequence. A deadblock copied from a side street in West Philadelphia in 1967 is reproduced here:

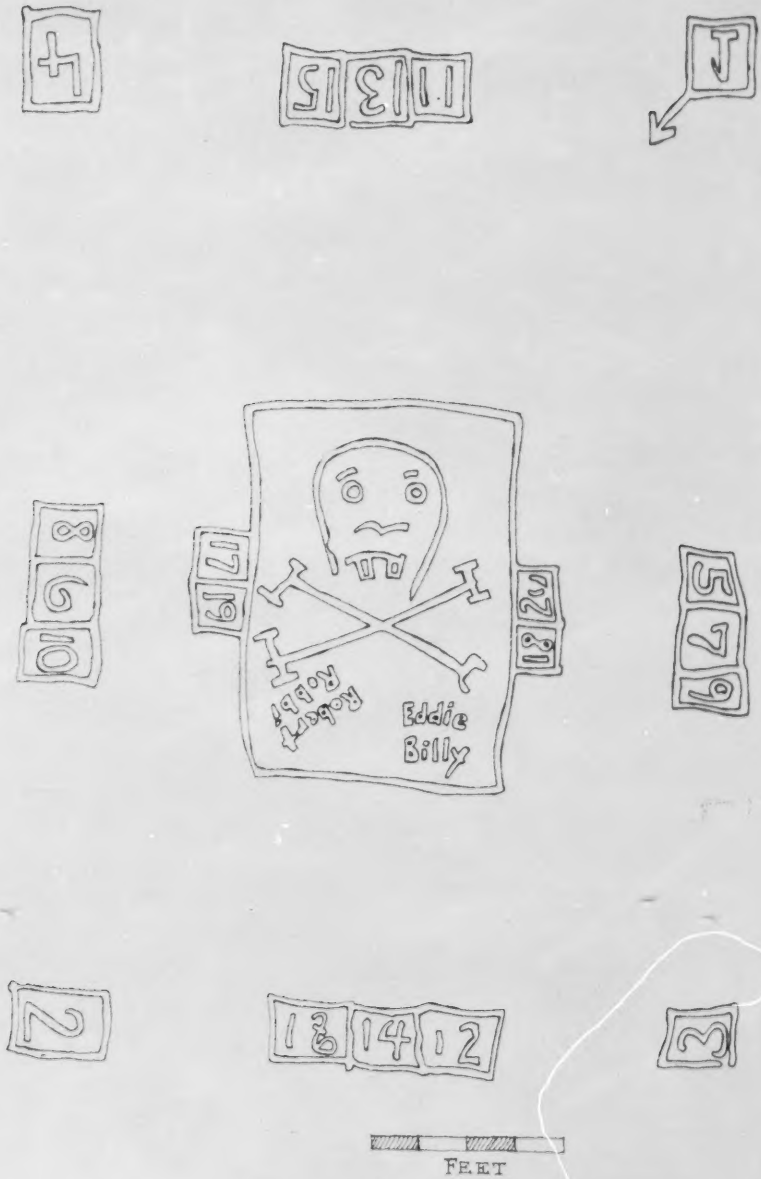


Fig. 2. Deadblock Diagram.

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The entire diagram is called the "deadblock;" the central square is called "the dead man;" the blocks are named with the number plus "—zies," so that the block numbered eleven is "elevenzies."

Some oral forms serve as games in themselves. Rhymes are often rapidly repeated, changed, and added to by children in little groups. Tongue twisters are used as humorous verbal tests, not only among children, but also by college students and frequenters of bars; some examples from central Pennsylvania college students are these:

Sam Slick sawed six slim slippery sticks.

The fly and the flea that flew through a flaw in the flue.

When a twister, a-twisting
Doth twist him a twist,
For the twisting of his twist
Three times he doth twist;
But if one of the twists
Of his twists doth untwist,
The twist that untwisted
Untwisteth the twist.

Riddles

Traditional riddles are today most commonly found among children. Formerly, riddles were a source of adult entertainment and many are remembered by older people. Some of the folk riddles which have been collected in Pennsylvania are these:

Beyond the mountain is a stag;
The more you shoot, the more you may,
For you cannot drive that stag away.
Answer: The sun.

What's blacker than a crow?
Answer: His feathers.

It goes round the house, round the house and peeps in at the key hole.
Answer: The wind.

Black I am, but much admired;
Men seek me until they're tired;
I tire mules, but comfort man,
Tell this riddle, if you can.
Answer: Coal.

Why is a bald man's head like Heaven?
Answer: There's no parting there.

A housefull, a yardfull, you can't catch a jugfull.
Answer: Smoke.

What goes over the hills all day and sits in the cupboard at night?
Answer: Milk.

What goes down coughing and comes up crying?
Answer: A bucket being lowered in a well.

If the papa bull eats three bales of hay and the baby bull eats one bale of hay, how many bales would the mama bull eat?
Answer: There's no such thing as a mama bull.

A dog in the woods but can't bark.
Answer: Dogwood tree.

What has four legs but can't walk?
Answer: Table.

Miss Nancy dressed in white, the longer she sits, the shorter she grows.
Answer: A candle.

The man who made it didn't use it; the man who bought it didn't want it; the man who got it didn't know it.
Answer: Coffin.

Mrs. Black went in black and left white.
Answer: Black hen laid a white egg.

Up and down and never touches sky or ground.
Answer: Pump handle.

What has four stiff-standers, four diddle danders, two hookers, two lookers and a switchabout.
Answer: Cow.

Speech and Proverbs

In the conversation of any individual, examples of folk speech may be found. People whose life ways are oriented to tradition, however, are more apt to include folk elements in their speech than people who are highly educated and oriented to change. Folk speech includes understatement, repetition, personification, proverbs, concreteness rather than generalization, a specialized vocabulary often drawn from occupational pursuits, and consistent grammatical usages which sound foreign to ears dulled by the dictionary and grammar lesson. Note these characteristics in this local legend:

Q. Mr. Lee, what's the name of this apple?
A. The old folks around here always called that a Micah apple, a Micah apple. I don't rightly know how you spell her, but she's a good eatin' apple, she's sure a good eatin'

apple, sweet as the lickin' in a sap pan. This is about the only tree around; some feller over Wellsboro way he had one. There's a story about this here apple. I've heard my grandmam tell it many times. There was this Jew feller, Jew peddler, he was, come around every year, peddling thread and needles and cloth, and pans, just about everything, he had. He came to this house just off the road, off the road about three hops of a rabbit, but you couldn't see it, because of the big orchard around it, this apple orchard was between it and the road. This peddler, he sold the woman there some pots and calicoes and she let him sleep in the barn, leastwise nobody ever saw him again. Men came looking for him but all they could find out was that he had slept there and gone the next morning.

Now the apples in that orchard were snow apples, you know, all the apples on her were streaked with red—red like blood. Every apple on the whole tree had these blood streaks.

Q. What about the apples on the other trees?

A. The rest were regular snow apples—white. People came to look at that tree. The Sheriff, he got to thinking and he came and dug around that tree and there was the peddler —dead, dead. They'd killed him and buried him there. And always after that tree had them apples streaked with blood. This peddler was named Micah and so they called these apples Micah apples and they have ever since. That just shows you murder will out.

Under "proverb" fall several kinds of traditional sayings. One type of proverb is the apothegm, the frequently repeated truism, such as these from Pennsylvania:

Man proposes, but God disposes
Boys will be boys
Easier said than done
No fool like an old fool
Three things drive a man out of his house; a smoking chimney, a fretting child, and a scolding wife.

Pennsylvania German examples include:

'S is net alle dåk feierdåk
Not every day is a holiday

Gidū is gidū
Done is done

The metaphorical proverb is often used as a direction with didactic intent, and to encapsulate a situation.

The pot calls the kettle black
Don't put all your eggs in one basket
Make hay while the sun shines
Don't change horses in midstream
A rooster is brave in his own farmyard
Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs
It never rains, but it pours
A new broom sweeps clean
He must have a long spoon who will eat with the devil

Included as proverbs are phrases used during special situations, things like greetings and responses to questions; examples include these Yiddish proverbs from the Russian-Jewish tradition of Irwin Richman of Harrisburg.

Ein gesunt in pipik
A happiness in your navel (bless you)

Hock meir nicht kein cheinik
Don't bang a kettle at me (leave me alone)

Gae cavey driken
Go drink coffee (get lost)

Maey du geshvulen varen
May you swell up (a curse)

Poo, poo. A leir a begis aig zult dier nicht shocten.
No one should throw an evil eye on you. (This is the traditional response of someone who is told of some good fortune.)

Descriptions of events and people are traditionally embellished with proverbial comparisons like these from Pennsylvania:

as big as a barn
nutty as a fruitcake
as tight as the bark on a birch tree
as fine as bumblebee feathers
as black as a crow
as broke as the ten commandments
so ugly her face would stop a clock
dry as a bone
as crooked as a barrel of snakes

The Pennsylvania German proverbial comparisons are remarkably similar to those of Pennsylvanians of British and Irish background; often they are exactly the same:

Sō druke as schtäb
As dry as dust

Sō flink wī en eber uf glatteis
As nimble as a boar in an ice storm

Sō grad as 'n schnūr
As straight as a line

'R henkt an em wī en glet
He clings like a burr

Schwaerz as 'n grab
Black as a crow

'R kanns, wī'n sau's drummel schpīle
He can do a thing as well as a pig can play a jew's harp

A special variety of proverb is the wellerism in which the proverbial statement is repeated as a quotation which puts it into context. The father of Maurice A. Mook, Professor of Anthropology at Pennsylvania State University, used to say, " 'I see,' said the blindman, 'I see plainly,' " when shown something obvious he had neglected to notice, or when he felt he was being slow in understanding a statement made in casual conversation. From the extensive Cumberland County collections of Mac E. Barrick comes this one:

"Everybody to his own taste," said the farmer as he kissed the cow.

A Pennsylvania German wellerism is:

"Grōs gegrisch um wenich woll," hot d'r Eireschpigel gsat wi'r di sau gschōre hot.
"Great cry and little wool," quoth Eulenspiegel, when he shore the sow.

The same wellerism is known to people of Scotch-Irish ancestry in the central part of the state:

"Much squeal and less wool," said the diel [Devil] after he had sheared his hogs.

Many proverbs are actually traditional statements of belief, though often that belief survives only as a piece of humor.

Cold hands, warm heart.

Girls with fat cheeks have hearts like flint.

Di mēd de dike bake.
Hen haerzer wī di wake. [Pennsylvania German]
Girls with fat cheeks have hearts like quartz.

Whiskey on beer,
Never fear;
Beer on whiskey,
Rather risky.

When the wind is in the east,
That's the time they [the fish] bite the least.

Beliefs

Some of the beliefs which have been held by Pennsylvanians are these:

Give a child several teaspoonsful of its own baptismal water to make it bright.
A child must receive its first nursing at the right breast so that it will not become left-handed.
If a girl gets her stomach wet while washing the dishes, she will marry a drunk.
Wear out your wedding garments quickly and you will be wealthy.
Should one transplant parsley plants from a neighbor's garden to his own, that person's death will follow.
The whining of a dog beneath a window is an omen of death.
If you sleep in the moonlight, you'll go crazy, especially when the moon is full.
Chickens hatched from eggs laid on Good Friday will be speckled.
Kill a barnswallow and the cows will give bloody milk.
Never plant cucumbers in Pisces.
Cucumbers and radishes planted in Pisces will grow to good length.
Corn should be planted during the new moon when the sign is in the head, so that all will go to ear.
Build fences when the horns of the moon are turned down.
Sweep your house backwards on Abdon's Day (July 29 or 30) to exterminate vermin.
Fasten a sprig of St. John's wort to the door to keep out witches or flies.
Always spit on the bait before casting.
If a shotgun does not hit hard enough, pour rabbit blood down the barrel.
If the chickens are quiet, a storm is coming.
A dark breastbone in a goose indicates a hard winter to come.
Kill a snake and hang it on the fence and you'll be sure of rain in three days.
Morning showers and old women's dancing do not last long.
Thunderstorms on Ascension Day bring bad luck.

Folklorists customarily report beliefs in an "if . . . then . . ." shorthand form, but beliefs do not necessarily fit into neat oral patterns, and it would be best to report them in the verbal and human contexts in which they are found. On the last Friday in May, 1967, two middle-aged York County farmers, both raised as members of plain sects, were mowing the grass on adjoining farms. The day, like the rest of the spring, had been cool and rainy. Jacob left the job in the hands of his teen-age sons and walked to the road where Lyman was standing and said, "Well, this is how the weather'll be in June." Lyman replied, "Yes, the last Friday controls the next month, they say." Jacob nodded and both squinted up at the gray sky. Lyman, his head still cocked back, noted, "But, they say all signs fail in dry weather." He paused, smiled, and went on, "But this ain't dry weather."

A Greek restaurateur from western Pennsylvania remembered this belief from the old country: "In my country when somebody stands on the street and say, 'Good Morning,' without he have a wash on his face, everybody think he's a bad luck."

Miners felt that it was a bad omen if the rats which normally scurried about the mine were suddenly absent, if a red headed woman were met on the way to work, or if a woman went to the mines.

Negroes in Pittsburgh in the 1930's retained some elements of the voodoo of the Deep South. Some believed that one could protect oneself from intended harm in this manner:

> At midnight sprinkle salt and red pepper in three equal amounts into the coal fire. Each time you say, 'in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,' and you name the person.

Many of the traditional beliefs are medicinal:

> In the spring of the year when you hear the first whippoorwill, lie down and roll, and you won't have any pain in your back all year.
>
> Sulphur and molasses rolled in powdered sugar balls is a good spring tonic because it thins the blood. Sassafrass tea also purifies the blood; it should be drunk for two weeks in the spring.
>
> Lard and turpentine will keep off blood poisoning from a nail wound. The salve should be rubbed on the nail and the wound.
>
> Polecat fat boiled until it becomes liquid is the best remedy for croup. Take a teaspoonful before going to bed.

To get rid of warts rub the wart with a snail. As the snail dries up the wart will also dry up and drop off.
Tie a red thread around a wart and leave it for three days, then bury the string and the wart will disappear.
A horse hair drawn across the nose will stop a nosebleed.
To keep a baby from going blind bathe the eyes in warm milk from the mother's breast.
Live fish worms used as a poultice will draw a boil.
Red pepper in the shoes will keep off chills.
The old Indian cure practiced in Pennsylvania for itch or skin rash was ant egg salve.
Washing the face with a baby's wet diaper will 'cure' freckles.
For yellow jaundice catch nine lice from someone's head and eat them.

Remedies such as these were known to most people. Some cures, however, were the property of a special person, usually a woman, who was called upon at times of need. The Pennsylvania Germans knew their wise woman as "a pow wow woman"; Russian miners in Pennsylvania called their wise women *Znaharkhi*.

The Italians in Northampton County brought their belief in the evil eye from the Mediterranean. If a person were sick, a test was performed by a wise person to determine if the sickness were caused by the evil eye cast by a jealous person, by a person born on Christmas Eve, or one who turned his back on the uplifted host. Pieces of cotton were dropped into a mixture of olive oil and water; if the cotton spread out the *mal'occhio* was present. The person sick with the evil eye was cured with traditional prayers and the sign of the cross made in the air with a knife.

Granny Mitchell, who lived near Honesville, was the wise woman of a Cornish settlement in northeastern Pennsylvania. She would tie a thread around a sprain while saying this charm:

Our Lord rode
His foal's foot slade [slid, i.e., slipped]
Down He lighted
His foal's foot righted
Bone to bone
Sinew to sinew
Blood to blood
Flesh to flesh
Heal, in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Customs

American folkloristic studies have concentrated on expressive and formal traditions, such as folksong, and much remains to be done in the area of folk customs. A wealth of material regarding customs exists in reminiscences, travel accounts, and the memories of older people. Folk customs include practices like nailing birds of prey—hawks, for instance, crows, or jays—with outstretched wings to the barn's gable or the side of a shed, or hanging them from a pole at the periphery of a field to warn others of their kind to stay away; this is still done in Fayette County, throughout the southern United States, and in parts of England.

Corn husking bees were a happy feature of the old days. Excitement and laughter followed the finding of a red ear of corn, for that entitled the finder to kiss any girl he cared to—a folk custom found very commonly throughout the eastern United States. In the Blue Mountain region, after the husking was finished, a party would be held in the field. The fiddler would sit on a stump while the couple who had "the floor" danced out the set, after which their places were taken by another couple. Husking bees held in the barn were fancier affairs with decorations and more elaborate dances like the reels. The tunes the fiddlers played were like those on this manuscript (Fig. 3) which comes from ninetenth century York County and was donated to the Ethnic Culture Survey Collection by Mrs. Paul Wagner of Mechanicsburg.

Many customs are associated with the major events of a human life. The Irish in Pennsylvania's coal mining communities continued to practice their tradition of the wake—complete, it seems, to the keener, an old woman who was paid to lament beside the corpse. Italian immigrants to South Philadelphia brought with them the Old World tradition of the *console*, though it died out in the generation born in America. After death the corpse was kept in the house and it was the Italian custom that no cooking, other than the making of coffee, could take place in the house in which a corpse lay. So, the relatives and friends of the family cooked the *console*, the consolation dinner, at home and brought it to the house of the deceased.

Among the most significant of folk customs are those associated with special annual seasons or days. Philadelphians in the past went from house to house on Christmas eve presenting a short play which was a survival of the British tradition of mumming—the folk plays

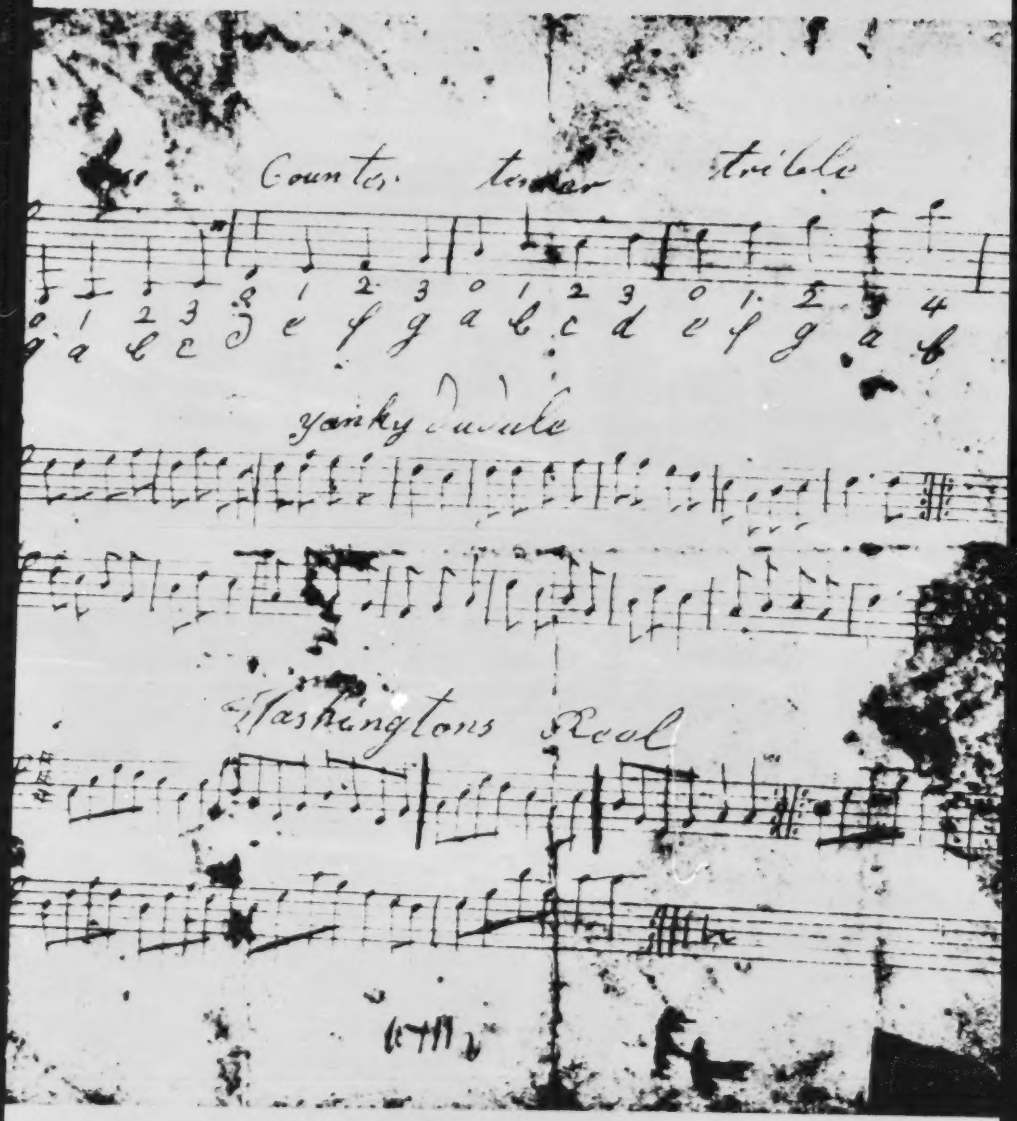

Fig. 3. Manuscript of Fiddle Tunes.

known in Elizabethan times and performed rarely to the present in some parts of England and Ireland. The old English play of St. George and the Dragon was still performed in Philadelphia about 1830, though St. George had become George Washington and the dragon Beelzebub. The latter entered the house, like his English antecedent, with a stiff rhyme:

> Here comes I, old Beelzebub,
> On my shoulder I carry a club,
> In my hand a dripping pan.
> Don't you think I'm a jolly old man?

In Pittsburgh and southwestern Pennsylvania, Christmas was celebrated, as it is in much of the South, with firecrackers. The New Year was noisily greeted, too, for in Pennsylvania German communities the men went out after midnight firing pistols and old muskets. At each home they would call on the householder, sing a hymn, and recite a New Year's wish in German. After this they were invited in for food and drinks. Similar folk customs were known in Germany and England, and are still practiced in parts of western Virginia and North Carolina.

Italians in Northampton County celebrated *carnevale* before Lent, as do people of French background in Louisiana and people of Spanish background in Latin America. They went from house to house with a musical band; the older men dressed like women and carried a cradle and a doll.

Many ethnic groups have special days with which they are identified. In New Castle, an industrial city in Lawrence County, the immigrants who arrived about the turn of the century celebrated a number of special days in the 1930's. On Christmas, Carpathian Russian children went about singing carols and dramatizing the scene of the first Christmas. They dressed as shepherds and angels and carried with them a *Jaslichore*, a small replica of a church with a picture of a manger on it. At the houses where they stopped they were given coins and sweets. The Slovakians, like the Poles, carried a basket of food to church on the day before Easter to be blessed by the priest. The basket contained *Kolachi* (Easter bread), homemade sausage, baked ham, cooked bacon, hard boiled eggs painted in bright Old World colors, and *Cirec* (a mixture of eggs and milk cooked slowly and drained over night); the basket was covered with a special embroidered cloth; its contents were not eaten until Easter Sunday. The Italians in

New Castle celebrated August 15, the anniversary of the founding of the Casa Savoia society and the laying of the cornerstone of the church of St. Vitus; the celebration included a parade, fireworks, and the games of *baccia* and *morra*. Those of Hungarian heritage celebrated March 15, the anniversary of the day in the year 1000 that St. Stephen converted the Hungarians to Christianity. On the first day of March, St. David's day, Welshmen wore the daffodil, the Welsh national flower. And the English who came from the Birmingham-Manchester area continued to celebrate Guy Fawkes day.

Material Culture

Most of the material culture of the later immigrant groups was lost in crossing the Atlantic, but some Old World material traditions do persist—especially cookery. People of Polish heritage continue to make *golalski* (cabbage leaves stuffed with rice, fish and meat, then boiled), *barsze* (a beet and sour cream soup), and *pierogi* (a pastry roll stuffed with potatoes and chopped meat). Similar to the Polish *pierogi* is the Ukrainian *pirohu* and the Slovakian *pierogi* or *pirohi*. The Slovakian *pieroge*, stuffed with chopped meats, potatoes and *schmier-kase*, are smaller than those made by the Polish women. The Slovakian cooks make extensive use of cabbage and meat, and often make *Ris Kasa s Melkom*, a dish of rice and milk. West Irish immigrants in Mercer County could make a meal (much to the amazement of their Italian-American neighbors) of potatoes, peeled, boiled with salt, broken up in a bowl and submerged in milk.

The immigrants who came to western Pennsylvania from southern and central Finland built bath houses like those they had known in their homeland, and like those built by Finnish immigrants in the Great Lakes area. The *sauna* was built close to the house; its walls were insulated; and it had shelves on which the bathers sat. Heated stones were placed in a pile on the floor; water was thrown over these to produce steam. The bathers switched each other with bundles of birch twigs to complete the bath treatment.

The material folk culture which is still to be found in abundance throughout Pennsylvania is mostly derived from the traditions brought by the first wave of immigrants: mainly the English, Scotch-Irish, and Pennsylvania Germans in the southern and central sections of the State and people of English-New England background in the North.

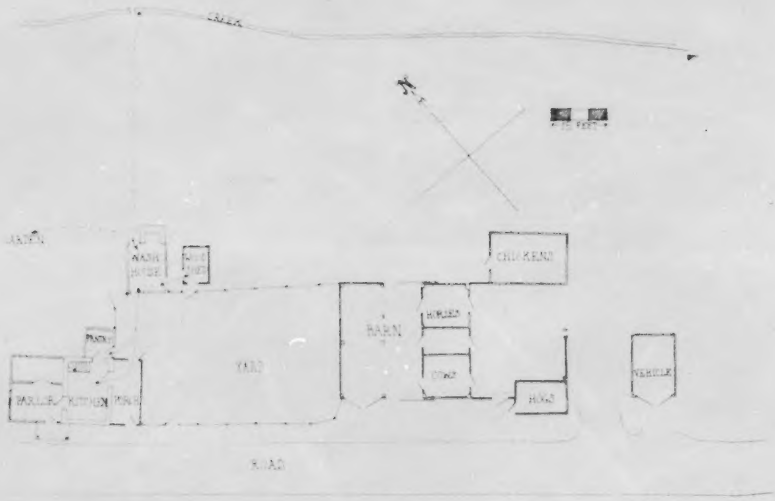

Fig. 4. Plan of a Farm in Northern York County.
The dotted lines represent the pattern of movement to and from the wash house. The wash house on this farm is pictured in Fig. 6.

One of the outbuildings found on the typical south Pennsylvania farm—especially in the south central portion of the State and adjacent Maryland—is the wash house. This small structure is usually located behind the dwelling, a few steps out the back door (Figs. 4, 5); it may also be attached to the house by a breezeway or built directly onto it as a rear ell. Typically it has a gable roof with a large chimney built at one gable end. The chimney is usually of stone with a brick top, though chimneys built entirely of stone or brick may also be found. If the building is of masonry, the chimney is generally built flush within the gable wall (Fig. 5); wooden buildings often have the chimney built (as chimneys were built commonly in England and rarely in Switzerland) outside of the gable wall (Fig. 6). The large fireplace is usually fitted with wooden doors and placed in it are the iron kettles used in laundering, soap boiling, apple butter boiling, butchering, and summer cooking.

The wash house may be built of log, brick, stone, or even cinder-block; most usually it is built of clapboarded frame. It commonly takes one of two forms: that with the main door in the gable end opposite the fireplace (Fig. 6), and that with the main door in the side, in which case it usually also has a built-in porch sheltering that

Fig. 5. Stone Wash House with Adjacent Woodshed.
This is located in York County, south of Franklintown. At the top is a photo of the two buildings; below is their plan.

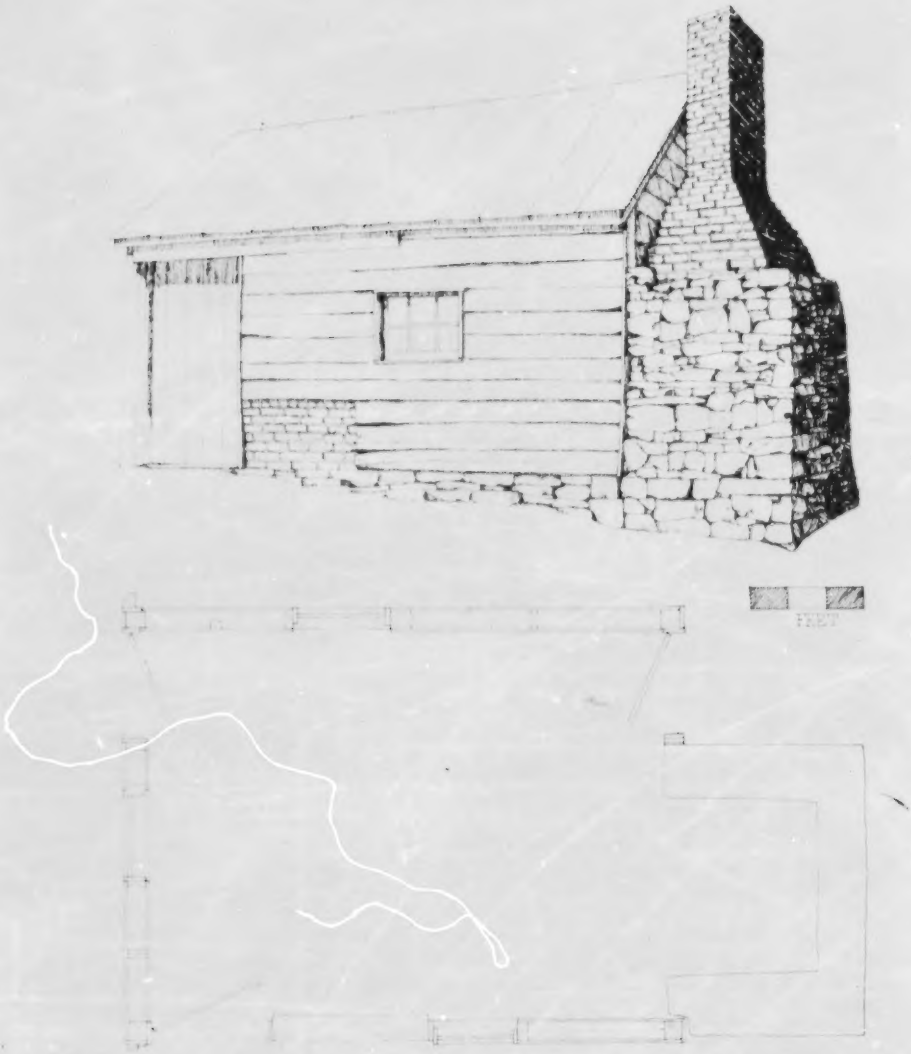

Fig. 6. Frame Wash House with External Chimney.
This was located southwest of Dillsburg in York County. At the top is an external view, below is the floorplan.

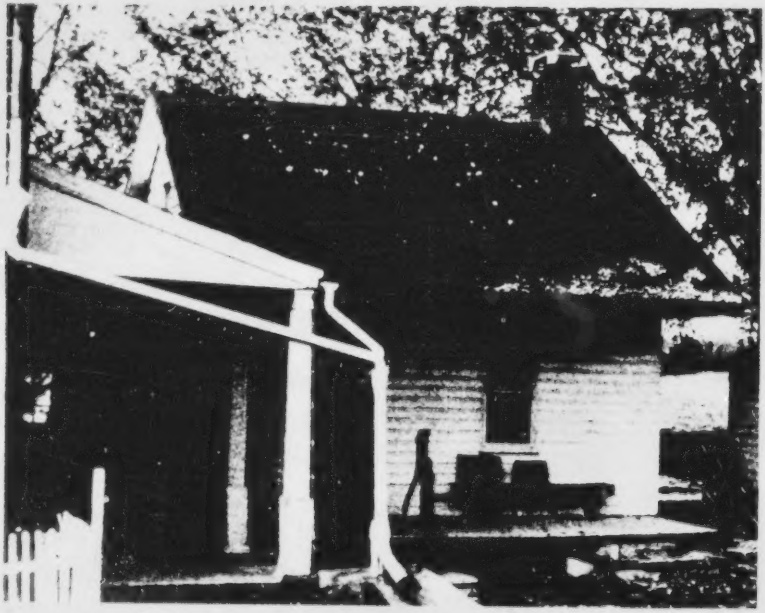

Fig. 7. Frame Wash House with Built-in Porch.
This is a [illegible] of Cumberland County. It is one of the many exceptions [illegible] building the chimney externally on a wooden wash house.

door (Fig. 7). Both of these types often have secondary doors leading toward a source of water, such as a creek or well, and toward the woodshed (Fig. 4).

It is a characteristic of things which are folk that, while minor variation is constant, they adhere generally to formal types. Still, within folk tradition innovation is not impossible. In northern York County, there is an unusual building which combines under one roof both wash house and woodshed (Fig. 9). The woodshed was frequently built close to the wash house (Figs. 5, 8), which it supplied with fuel, and was occasionally attached to it; the step from two outbuildings to one was an inventive one but not a long one. This building is divided sharply in half and the characteristics of each part adhere closely to the tradition of separate wash house and woodshed. The woodshed side remains a farmyard outbuilding; it has a dirt floor, unfinished walls, a shuttered window, and large doors which swing outward on strap hinges. The wash house side, as it is

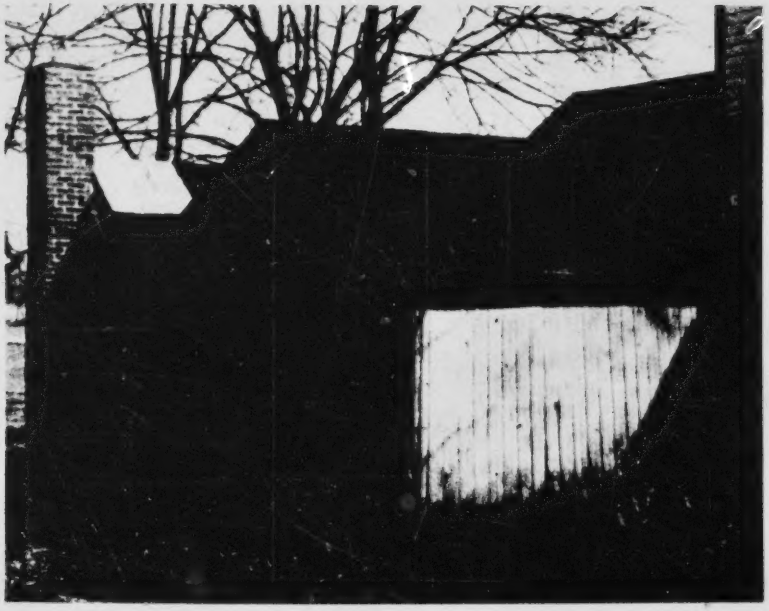

Fig. 8. Wash House and Woodshed Attached.
This is located near Bermudian in York County. The wash house is to the left; it is built of dovetailed log covered with vertical boards. The woodshed is frame.

in effect an extension of the dwelling, has a framed wooden floor, whitewashed plastered walls and ceiling with dark green woodwork, glazed sash, and doors which swing inward on butt hinges.

Within this building are many of the objects normally used in Pennsylvania wash houses. By the open fireplace are three large iron kettles (Fig. 10A), each of which stands on three feet and follows a pattern known in Europe since ancient times. Over the woodstove hangs an apple butter stirrer with a handle over six feet long allowing the person who must keep stirring the apple butter to stand well away from the fire and from the sputtering liquid (Fig. 10B). Along the wall opposite the fireplace stands a meat bench, a 14½-inch by 13-foot plank with four splayed legs tenoned into it. Sitting on the stove are a pair of stoneware jugs (Fig. 10C), each marked F. H. Cowden/Harrisburg. The Harrisburg city directories list a Frederick H. Cowden as a manufacturer of stoneware in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's. In the loft lies a coiled basketry tray in which bread dough

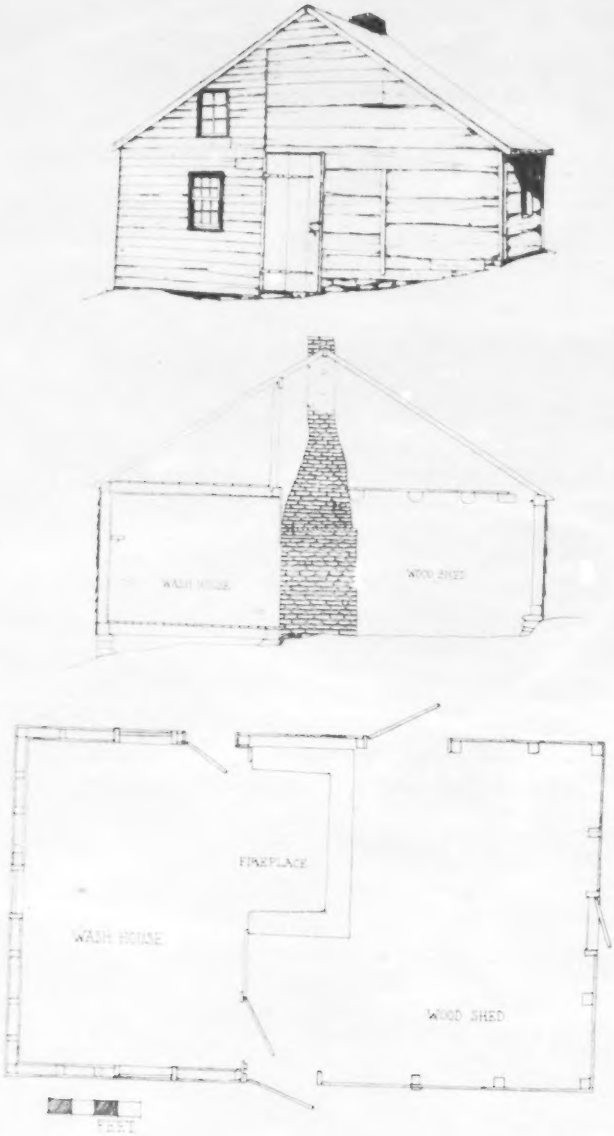

Fig. 9. Combined Wash House and Wood Shed.
This is located just west of Dillsburg in York County. At the top is an external view; in the center is a cross section; at the bottom is the floorplan.

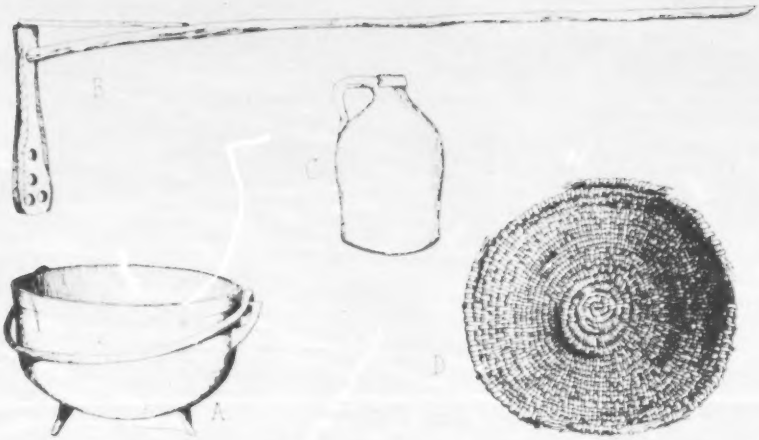

Fig. 10. Wash House Accoutrements.
A. Iron kettle. B. Apple butter stirrer. C. Stoneware jug. D. Coil basketry tray.

was placed to raise (Fig. 10D). Coil basketry was known widely in Europe; in America it persisted most strongly among the Pennsylvania Germans, the Negroes of the Southern Sea Islands, and the Indians of the Far West.

PART III

SUGGESTED READINGS

This bibliography is arranged like the first sections of the *Guide;* and like the rest of the *Guide* it is meant to be suggestive rather than complete.

GUIDES

Once you have digested this small *Guide*, you will want to read Kenneth S. Goldstein's *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1964), for more detailed suggestions on collecting, and Seán Ó Suilleabháin, *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1963, reprint of 1942), for an orderly, comprehensive listing of the subjects of folk cultural inquiry.

INTRODUCTIONS AND AIDS

A readily available, but out-of-date introductory volume is Alexander H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964, reprint of 1929). A complex but valuable anthology of essays is Alan Dundes, ed., *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965). Maria Leach, *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, 2 volumes (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949-1950), is very uneven in quality—some of the contributions are excellent, others are poor.

AMERICAN FOLKLORE

B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York: Crown, 1944, and other editions) is a large volume of assorted material, much of it from early publications, much of it not folklore. Tristram P. Coffin and Hennig Cohen, *Folklore in America* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), is an anthology of genuine folklore drawn from the pages of the *Journal of American Folklore*. A Norwegian scholar surveys the American scene with interesting results in Reidar Th. Christiansen, *European Folklore in America*, Studia Norvegica No. 12 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1962). A clear discussion from an historical standpoint is Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); the same scholar's *Buying the Wind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), is a collection of oral traditions from seven American groups (one of them the

Pennsylvania Germans); it provides, perhaps, the best introduction to American folklore.

The national periodicals are the *Journal of American Folklore*, which has been published since 1888, and *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, which has been published since 1964. A valuable publication of the American Folklore Society is *Abstracts of Folklore Studies*, which began in 1963.

STATE FOLKLORE COLLECTIONS

One of the best ways to obtain a clear view of folklore as it has developed in America is to read some of the one-volume works on a state's folklore; good examples are: Horace P. Beck, *The Folklore of Maine* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1957); Harold W. Thompson, *Body, Boots & Britches* [New York State] (New York: Dover, 1962, reprint of 1939); S. J. Sackett and William E. Koch, *Kansas Folklore* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1961); and Lyle Saxon, Edward Dreyer, and Robert Tallant, *Gumbo Ya-Ya* [Louisiana] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945). The great American collection is Newman Ivey White, ed., *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, 7 volumes (Durham: Duke University, 1952-1964). There have been two volumes of essays on Pennsylvania folklore: George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1960, reprint of 1949); and Robert H. Byington and Kenneth S. Goldstein, *Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey* (Hatboro: Pennsylvania Folklore Society and Folklore Associates, 1966). Both books are somewhat uneven in the quality of the papers included; the more recent one is more consistent, as its contributors are all scholars, but the earlier volume is the more comprehensive.

There are regular folklore periodicals for the Northeast, New York, the South, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Ohio, the West and Northwest. In Pennsylvania, there are currently two quarterlies devoted to folk culture: *Pennsylvania Folklife*, which grew out of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, and has an emphasis on the Pennsylvania Germans and an historical approach to folklife; and *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, which has included much in the way of rewritten legends of little worth, but which now emphasizes a modern fieldwork approach and includes material from throughout the Middle Atlantic region. In addition, the annuals of the Pennsylvania German Society and the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, which merged in 1967, have included much of folk cultural significance. Several volumes have been devoted to the oral traditions of groups within Pennsylvania. An early book on Pennsylvania Dutch traditions is John Baer Stoudt, *The*

Folklore of the Pennsylvania Germans, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society XXIII (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1916). George G. Korson has written three important books dealing with the folklore of Pennsylvania's miners: *Minstrels of the Mine Patch* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1964, reprint of 1938); *Coal Dust on the Fiddle* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1965, reprint of 1943); *Black Rock* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1960). A significant modern collection is Roger D. Abrahams, *Deep Down in the Jungle: Negro Narrative Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1964).

TALES

The best introduction to the folktale is Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1946). Important aids for the folktale student are Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale,* Folklore Fellows Communications No. 184 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1961), and Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature,* 6 volumes (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1955-1958). No books on Pennsylvania folktales have been published which can compare with such modern collections as Richard M. Dorson, *Negro Folktales in Michigan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1956), or Leonard W. Roberts, *South from Hell-fer-Sartin: Kentucky Mountain Folk Tales* (Berea: Council of the Southern Mountains, 1964), although a few good articles have appeared; for examples, David A. Walton's series of "Pennsylvania Riverboat Stories," beginning in *Keystone Folklore Quarterly,* XI:4 (Winter 1966), and Don Yoder's "Witch Tales from Adams County," *Pennsylvania Folklife,* XI:4 (Summer 1962), pp. 29-37. A collection of Pennsylvania German tales is: Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell, *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-Upon-a-Time Stories, Maxims and Sayings,* Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, L (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1944).

SONGS

The great collection of early British ballads, a collection which has given traditional folklore study much of its direction and impetus, is Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York: Cooper Square, 1965, first published 1882-1898). A multi-volume study of the tunes of these ballads, which began publication in 1959 and is not yet complete, is Bertrand H. Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads with their Texts According to the Extant Records of Great Britain and America* (Princeton University Press). A valuable guide to the Child ballad in America is

Tristram P. Coffin, *The British Traditional Ballad in North America*, Bibliographical Series, 2 (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society 1963, second edition). Other useful bibliographic aids to ballads in America are these two by G. Malcolm Laws: *American Balladry from British Broadsides*, Bibliographical and Special Series, 8 (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1957), and *Native American Balladry*, Bibliographical Series, 1 (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1964, second edition). An excellent and well written study is D. K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1959). MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin, eds., *The Critics and the Ballad* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1961) is an anthology of scholarly papers on the ballad. A good introductory collection of ballads, both British and American, is MacEdward Leach, *The Ballad Book* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1955).

Many states are represented by great collections of folksong; a generally available example is H. M. Belden, *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1955, first published 1940). The Pennsylvania collection is Henry W. Shoemaker's *Mountain Minstrelsy of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Newman F. McGirr, 1931, first published in 1919 as *North Pennsylvania Minstrelsy*). Col. Shoemaker's book is weak on annotation and contains much questionable material; D. K. Wilgus' temperate statement in *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship* (p. 166) should stand as a warning: "*North Pennsylvania Minstrelsy* includes . . . just enough information to madden the critic and cause him to distrust the accuracy of every recording. . . . Yet there is no evidence that the Colonel ever willfully altered a text." There are two good works on Pennsylvania German folksong: Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington and Don Yoder, *Songs Along the Mahantongo* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1964, reprint of 1951); Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1961).

MUSIC AND DANCE

Bruno Nettl, *An Introduction to Folk Music in the United States* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1962), provides a clear overview of traditional music in America. The best collection of American instrumental music is Samuel Preston Bayard's *Hill Country Tunes*, Memoir Series No. 39 (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1944), a collection of Pennsylvania fiddle tunes. Most of the books dealing with folk dance in America are how-to-do-its; better than most are S. Foster Damon, *The History of Square Dancing* (Barre,

Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1957) and B. A. Botkin, *The American Play-Party Song* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963, first published 1937).

PLAY

A good book on folk drama is E. K. Chambers, *The English Folk-Play* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964, reprint of 1933).

No important books have been written on Pennsylvania children's lore and games; a few of the works on children's lore are: William Wells Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York: Dover, 1963, first published 1888); Alice B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* (New York: Dover, 1964, first published 1894-1898); Paul G. Brewster, *American Nonsinging Games* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1953); and Iona and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

RIDDLES

The most important work on Anglo-American riddles is Archer Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1951).

PROVERBS

Archer Taylor's *The Proverb and An Index to 'The Proverb'* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1962, reprint of 1931, 1934), provides a good introduction to proverbial material. An annotated listing of common American proverbs may be found in this important reference work: Archer Taylor and Bartlett Jere Whiting, *A Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases 1820-1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1958). For Pennsylvania proverbs see: Edwin Miller Fogel, *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings XXXVI (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1929); and Mac E. Barrick's articles in *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, VIII: 4 (Winter 1963), and X:1 (Spring 1965).

BELIEFS

The great work on American beliefs is Wayland D. Hand, "Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina," *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, VI, VII (Durham: Duke University, 1961, 1964). Vance Randolph, *Ozark Superstitions* (New York: Dover, 1964, reprint of 1947), is an interesting, readable introduction. Pennsylvania beliefs may be found in Edwin Miller Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadel-

phia: American Germanica Press, 1915); and Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, *Folk-Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures*, Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings XLV (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1935).

CUSTOMS

Eastertide in Pennsylvania (Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1960), and *Christmas in Pennsylvania* (Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959), both by Alfred L. Shoemaker, are discussions of the customs associated with special days. Most of the material on customs is to be found in works on social history, such as Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher's *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950). Ideally, customs would be treated, along with material culture and oral traditions, in a discussion of the total range of folk culture within an area. Nothing has yet appeared on folk culture in the United States which can compare with E. Estyn Evans' *Irish Folk Ways* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1957), or Oscar Lewis' *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1963, first published 1951), though some good works from a historical or sociological standpoint have appeared on the Pennsylvania Germans, and especially the Amish; examples include: Russell Wieder Gilbert, *A Picture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania Historical Studies, 1 (Gettysburg: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1962, third edition); Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1942); Calvin George Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 60 (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1961, reprint of 1942); Elmer Lewis Smith, *The Amish Today*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society XXIV (Allentown: Schlechter's, 1961); John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963).

MATERIAL CULTURE

A great many superb studies of material folk culture have been published in Europe; among the good examples written in English are: many articles in the journals *Folk-Liv*, *Scottish Studies*, *Ulster Folklife*, *Folk Life* and its predecessor *Gwerin*; M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); and these books by J. Geraint Jenkins: *Traditional Country Craftsmen* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), and *The English Farm Wagon* (Lingfield, Surrey: Oakwood Press for the University of Reading, 1961). Nothing has been yet produced in

America, save a tiny handful of articles, which can compare with these, though a number of books have been written on Pennsylvania material culture. Most of these deal only with the Pennsylvania Germans, are oriented to collectors of antiques rather than serious students, and are of value primarily for their illustrations, the text being frequently scanty and poor. A few of them, however (notably Mercer's book on tools, Dornbusch's on barns, and Shelley's on fraktur), are among the best things yet written in America. For information on Pennsylvania's material culture see: John Joseph Stoudt, *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1964); Henry J. Kauffman, *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art* (New York: Dover, 1964); Frances Lichten, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946); Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1944); Henry S. Borneman, *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts* (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1937); Donald A. Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society XXIII (Allentown: Schlechter's, 1961); Edwin Atlee Barber, *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1903); Guy F. Reinert *Pennsylvania German Splint and Straw Baskets*, Home Craft Course XXII (Plymouth Meeting: Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, 1946); Guy F. Reinert, *Coverlets of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society XIII (Allentown: Schlechter's 1949); Ann Hark and Preston A. Barba, *Pennsylvania German Cookery, A Regional Cookbook* (Allentown: Schlechter's, 1956); Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Cooky Cutters and Cookies*, Home Craft Course, 18 (Plymouth Meeting: Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, 1946); Henry C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron, Or the Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society, 1961, third edition); John G. W. Dillin, *The Kentucky Rifle* (Washington: National Rifle Association, 1924); Henry J. Kauffman, *The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1960); Joe Kindig, Jr., *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in its Golden Age* (York: Trimmer, 1960); George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey, *Conestoga Wagon, 1750-1850* (York: George Shumway and the Early American Industries Association, 1966); Henry C. Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools* (Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society, 1960, first published 1929); Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Furniture and Its Makers of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966); Henry Kinzer Landis, *Early Kitchens of the Pennsyl-*

vania Germans (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1939); G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings XLI (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1933); Eleanor Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania* (New York: William Helburn, 1931); Charles Morse Stotz, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* (New York and Pittsburgh: William Helburn, 1936); Alfred L. Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959, second edition); Charles H. Dornbusch and John K. Heyl, *Pennsylvania German Barns*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society XXI (Allentown: Schlechter's, 1958).

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